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The Week

THE object of the special treaty with France which I now submit to you is to provide for immediate military assistance to France by the United States in case of any unprovoked movement of aggression against her by Germany without waiting for the advice of the Council of the League." In other words, the Council of the League sitting at Geneva, practically on the Franco-German frontier, is not capable of deciding whether an "unprovoked aggression" has occurred. But what the League at Geneva is too near-sighted to recognize, Congress sitting nearly four thousand miles away, assisted by our notoriously efficient State Department and the utterly impartial news service that emanates from France, is to determine instantly. The fact is that this is not a "defensive" alliance and it is not aimed at "unprovoked aggression," whatever they may be. It is an alliance. It pledges us to fight on France's side in the next war, provided Germany is on the other. It pledges us, in fact, though not in theory, to support French diplomacy on the continent wherever it leads.

"I was moved to sign this treaty by considerations which will, I hope, seem as persuasive and as irresistible to you as they seemed to me." The considerations seem to have been

the debt of Lafayette; but the persuasion was exercised by the irresistible Tiger on a man who was simply no match for him in force of character or integrity of mind. That is the real reason why Wilson was persuaded. Clemenceau, not Lafayette. Why not try a little candor for once?

RACE riots within a week of one another occurred in Washington and in Chicago. In Washington they were attributed to a much heralded "crime wave" and to "many assaults" by Negroes upon white women. The press made a race question of individual crime and the mob, led by marines and soldiers and sailors, took up the issue with which the press had presented them. Unoffending Negroes were dragged from street cars and beaten and were assaulted upon the streets. Mobs made repeated attempts to invade the colored residential district of the national capital. The police, during the first two nights of rioting—it is significant that the trouble began after dark each day—offered so little opposition that both white men and Negroes concluded the police were in sympathy with the lawless and improvised punitive expeditions which ranged the streets. A state of hysterical fear prevailed among the Negroes themselves, who distrusted the white police and the government armed forces sent to check the rioting. Their distrust was based on a common knowledge that the attacks were imminent, upon the absence of measures to prevent them, and upon the time which elapsed before the administration took steps to enforce order. With the advent of rain, troops and General Haan, mob violence subsided.

REPORTS from Chicago indicate that the riots there are due to an acute housing situation. In the past few months bombs have been exploded to intimidate Negro residents in white districts and real estate owners and landlords with Negro tenants. The press and the public realized that race relations were becoming increasingly strained in consequence of the large influx of Negroes from the South. Accommodations for Negroes within what had been the Negro district were proving inadequate. In addition, Negroes of means were moving into white residential sections. The expected clash finally occurred at an amusement resort, among bathers. In consequence of events in Washington and in Chicago, predictions are freely made that similar disturbances will occur throughout the country unless race bitterness is moderated. Negroes are becoming intolerant of the indignities to which they were subjected before the war. Among the remedies offered in the present disturbed conditions are restraint in newspaper reports of "crime

waves," and a realization that the Negro cannot be turned back to economic conditions from which he has been emancipating himself.

REPUBLICAN leaders in the Senate declare that neither Mr. Taft's letter nor Mr. Wilson's series of conferences has taken the edge off their party's determination to make reservations that will amount to amendments. In his conferences, the President seems to use an argument upon which papers like the *World* and *Times* rely. "I found Mr. Wilson afraid of action that would reopen negotiations," said Senator Spencer. "He is simply afraid that if the Senate does qualify the treaty in any way, complications will ensue . . . which would threaten the destruction of all the work done." Commerce with Germany, let us remember, is already revived. Does peace then mean the sealing and filing of a document—or the correction of injustices like the cession of Shantung which promise new wars? And in the latter case will American influence count for more if we are pledged, even "temporarily," to guarantee the bargain—or if we hold aloof until Europe has made a genuine bid for our support?

IT begins to look more and more as if the destiny of the Russian people would have to be worked out by Japan. Kolchak has lost Ufa, Perm and Ekaterinburg in quick succession. Into the American papers is beginning to creep a suspicion that his entire campaign was a press agency fake. In the South, of course, there is Denikin—commander of those Cossacks who have ridden roughshod over the Russian peasants—but a man now so popular with the people that the women of Kharkov (according to Dr. Harold Williams of the *Times*) press forward, "weeping with joy," to kiss the mud-guards of his machine. However, Denikin himself seems slowing up. What is left? Japan. Rumors come that new thousands of Japanese troops are entering Siberia. In their westward flow it is apparently to be America's small part to keep the railways open.

HOW great a factor Japan has become in the Russian situation is the subject of an article by Maurice Sokoloff in *L'Europe Nouvelle*. Sokoloff is a member of the Social-Revolutionaries of the Right, and an ex-deputy of that constituent assembly which the Bolsheviks dissolved. He has, therefore, all the qualifications of those anti-Bolshevik Russians who are supporting Kolchak in Mr. Sack's propaganda. But Sokoloff says: "It is plain that Kolchak can only succeed or even hold his own with the aid of armed foreign support. It is also clear that if Japan is to receive concessions a Japanese armed intervention on a vast scale in Siberia will be the quid pro quo. Even Allied capitalism-imperialism is beginning to realize that the brusque appearance of the yellow races, armed and in force, at the eastern door of Europe—a very insecure door indeed—is unsettling."

NO doubt the success of the Soviet armies will cause many Allied statesmen to consider in a new light the question of lifting the Russian blockade. When the Bolshevik troops drove Kolchak from Ekaterinburg they won for their government certain resources that will whet the appetite of Allied traders. Ekaterinburg is the pivotal point in the

rich Ural mining district. Chiefly in land that now lies behind the Bolshevik front are vast stores of coal and iron, gold—both in veins and placers—platinum mines with a yield three times as great as the rest of the world's in the days before the war, deposits of nickel, copper, zinc, mercury, silver, iridium, cobalt and asbestos. When American merchants rushed to trade with Germany the *New York Tribune* admitted that their action might seem "gross and ugly to the tender-minded." Still, the *Tribune* added philosophically, "business is quick and competitive." If the Soviet government remains in the Urals we may find this philosophical attitude of business coming again to the fore.

THE strike that has tied up industry in Berlin was the first test of strength between Majority Socialists and Independents since the signing of peace. Before the strike the Majority Socialists withdrew from the executive committee of the factory councils, the central representative organ of the Berlin workers, and called upon the industrial groups to repudiate the strike which the Independents had scheduled. Simultaneously the Minister of Defense forbade by martial law all manifestations of any kind. The Majority Socialists made their challenge entirely definite. They billeted more troops in Berlin. But despite their threats they lost the day. The workers followed the independents; Berlin had its general strike. For the industrial groups Bauer's government is already a fictitious power.

IT is not easy to tell how long the coal strikes in England which have called out a quarter of a million workers will remain "settled." The Miners' Federation accepted the new piece rates offered by the government, but there remain other grievances which will sooner or later be the subject of dispute. The government has made no start towards the nationalization of the mines which was recommended in the Sankey report. Neither has it granted the workers' demand for an expert inquiry into decreased output, which the miners assert is due less to reduction in hours or "slack-ing" on their own part than to the failure of the owners to provide necessary equipment. Dealing with an organized force of workers intent upon a "new social order" it is likely that the government's offer of better piece rates is at best only a temporary settlement.

THE speech with which Mr. Winston Churchill startled many English politicians a fortnight ago has now been published. Mr. Churchill spoke at a private dinner of members of Parliament, and no full copy of his address was given to the press. A new party had been formed, said some of the newspapers; Churchill spoke at the instigation of Lloyd George who wanted a Centre Coalition that would weaken Bonar Law's hand and strengthen his own. Other observers thought the chief aim of the meeting was to gain for Lloyd George a control over Unionist funds from which, as a theoretical member of the Liberal party, he is now excluded. The publication of Mr. Churchill's speech confirms neither of these stories. The purpose in a Centre Coalition, he said, was not a break with existing parties but an attempt to keep existing parties from breaking with each other. That is going to be no easy task.

THE Japanese Chargé d'Affaires emphatically and officially denies the existence of the Tri-Power agreement in respect to Asia which was described in last week's issue of *The New Republic*. We are glad to see it denied, and we respectfully suggest that the denial be filed with the Secretary General of the League of Nations for reference whenever it becomes necessary to discuss "regional understandings" under Article XXI. In the meantime, we trust that Mr. Kabsuki Debuchi will not feel aggrieved at the existence of the rumor. The alleged agreement differs in no respect from the secret agreement, entered into by his government in the early months of 1917. If he thinks the allegation of a secret bargain unfair to his government, what must he think of the existence of a secret bargain at the expense of an associate in the war?

WITH the initiation of inquiries into the Shipping Board and the Post Office Department Congress has now run its total of active investigations up to thirteen. This is a practically unprecedented number. Investigations are always popular in Congress. They give to members who would otherwise remain obscure a temporary power and prestige. But the present flood of investigations shows a genuine weakness in our system of government. It is further startling proof of the gulf existing between executive and legislature. Congress is investigating questions both of expenditure and policy. At all times it ought to hold a check on expenditure by means of a budget system—a check on policy through a more intimate responsibility of executives to Congress, either in person or through accredited representatives. Lacking both of these instruments, Congress blunders along with investigations which are sometimes worthless, often indirect and always behind the fact.

DESPITE the objection of its Democratic members a special committee now investigating the War Department has turned in to Congress a report which accuses Secretary Baker of playing deliberately into the hands of the packers. This charge is based on an alleged failure to dispose of food-stuffs after the Chief of Staff, on November 30th, had authorized the declaration of a surplus. In behalf of Mr. Baker one of the committee members declares that food supplies were in fact disposed of as rapidly as the taking of inventories would permit. War Department inventories are none too swift; but that there is animus in the charge made by the Republicans is shown in their statement—ridiculous in view of Mr. Baker's long service for the Consumers' League—that delay was "the result of a well-defined policy of the Secretary of War to withhold supplies from the domestic market and to protect the interests." It looks as if the Republicans on the committee were finding less material in their investigation than they had hoped to find.

THE testimony of Ambassador Fletcher before the Rules Committee of the House has not pleased the people who want to invade Mexico before our army is demobilized. Mr. Fletcher agreed that most of the Mexican newspapers were hostile to America, and that the government was better at promises of punishment for crimes against Americans

than at living up to those promises. But simply to withdraw support from Carranza would do no good, he thought: "at present I do not see any revolutionary leader in Mexico who has a sufficient following to attempt that sort of thing unaided." Moreover, Carranza is in control "of practically all of Mexican territory," and his government is "fulfilling its mission as a government towards the people." Mr. Fletcher chose to confine himself to facts and avoid opinion. Most of those who read his testimony will conclude that there is no justification for a campaign of hatred and distrust directed against the Carranza government.

IN response to a request from Congress the Department of Labor has submitted a report on the Mooney case. This report is the result of a secret investigation made by Mr. John B. Densmore, now Director of the Federal Employment Service, under orders from Secretary Wilson. Mr. Densmore worked without the knowledge of the San Francisco authorities, and gathered much of his evidence by means of a dictaphone placed in the office of District Attorney Fickert, who prosecuted the case. His conclusions are these: that the prosecution was conducted without a real investigation of the crime; that the prosecutor's case was "a patchwork of incongruous makeshift and often of desperate expediency; and that there are "excellent grounds for believing" that Mr. Fickert was influenced by local corporate interests, bitterly opposed to union labor, who were willing to use the bomb outrage of 1916 as a means of discrediting the unions—even if their frame-up sent an innocent man to his death.

TO take any action in the Mooney case, other than to make recommendations to the authorities in California, is beyond the power of the federal government. But in view of the report which has now been laid before Congress the case for a new trial is indisputable. Mooney's personal freedom is only one issue, though a sufficient one. In addition there is the importance of the case in its effect on industrial conditions throughout the country. Two days before the Densmore report was sent to Congress the Minnesota Federation of Labor voted for a five-day general strike to begin on September first, as protest against the conviction. In all parts of the country a labor situation, none too healthy in itself, is being poisoned by the suspicion that Mooney's trial was less an attempt to see justice done than to strike a blow at the forces of union labor.

ELSEWHERE in this issue is discussed the Kenyon-Anderson bill which aims at a reorganization of the packing industry. To befriend this measure in the stormy course it is certain to have in Congress a National Marketing Committee has been organized, with Mr. William Kent of the Tariff Commission as President. Propaganda will be launched for local warehouses and cooperative centres of distribution. In the committee are already represented various trade unions, farmers' leagues and associations of consumers. There was never a brighter moment for the campaign that is planned. In every city of the country there is protest against the high range of food prices. None of this protest will be effective unless it is organized.

In Perspective

THERE is a story about Whistler which runs somewhat as follows: He was invited to view the paintings of an uninspired acquaintance who insisted upon obtaining Whistler's expert criticism. Walking up to the canvas the great man examined it intently for a long while. At last he drew out a hair from a paintbrush which adhered to the oils, held it up to the artist and said with great emphasis: "You must never do that again."

In some such way we are all inclined to talk about the task of pacifying the world. The left bank of the Rhine or civilization is doomed, says Foch. The Saar Valley or France is doomed, says Tardieu. The Covenant as drafted in Paris, says Wilson, or everybody's heart will break. Tanks and poison gas for Kolchak, say the propagandists, or civilization will collapse. Keep the reparations indefinite, or I fall, says Mr. George. Shantung or I quit, says Japan. Fiume or bust, said Orlando, and he busted. And so ad infinitum adque nauseam.

The issue of peace is really larger than any of these clamors. If we are to achieve it we must attempt a perspective, difficult and presumptuous as that may seem. For a starting point we may take the generally accepted axiom that Europe must return to work. The first step in that direction is the abolition of blockades and war time restrictions. The second step is the revival of confidence and hope, and the abandonment of grandiose political schemes in the interests of European economy as a whole. Europe cannot revive in spots, and remain at war in spots. The basin of the Danube, for example, may be a mosaic of nationalities but it is a close system of economic exchanges as well.

Now the fact is that the whole of Central Europe has been Balkanized. The word has often been applied before in the sense that the territory from the Baltic to the Aegean is now split into a great number of small, ambitious, indefinitely bounded states. That is true, but in a still more sinister sense it is Balkanized. The real curse of Balkan politics has always been that the Great Powers have played the Balkan states against each other for their own imperial purposes. The Russian Empire and the Triple Alliance for years made the Balkan peninsula a diplomatic battleground, and in the end this fact became the occasion of the Great War. The area for this intrigue has been vastly extended by the collapse of the empires that governed from Poland to the Aegean.

Combinations and permutations are possible that were never possible before, and with them French and Italian diplomacy is profoundly absorbed. In

the old Balkans, Imperial Russia and Imperial Austria-Germany were the main causes of disorder. In the new and vaster Balkans, the principals are France and Italy, and the paths they are showing to the new nations lead straight to disorder. The French system is Poland-Czechoslovakia-Yugoslavia-Greece. The Italian system is Rumania-Bulgaria-Hungary. The Italian system is much weaker because its dummy states are prostrate and more seriously at odds. Moreover, France, which on the continent wields American and British influence cuts deeply into the Italian system. But the French system is directed only in a left-handed way at Italy. Its main objectives are Germany and Russia.

So far as continental politics has any system at all, this is it. The settlement of Central Europe is not being made for the tranquility of the liberated peoples, but for the purposes of the Great Powers, among whom France is the active and America and Britain the passive partners. Central Europe is not regarded as a group of peoples, but a project of power directed against Germany and Russia. In Germany its purpose is the permanent elimination of the German nation as a factor in European politics. In Russia the purpose is a restoration of a regime sufficiently like the old one to recreate the dual alliance as the absolute master of Central Europe and the Near East.

America and Britain have been seduced into support of this by the propaganda of Russian intervention. This propaganda has created a state of mind in which all the other schemes were possible. If it was right to send troops to Archangel, it is right to aggrandize Poland. If it was right to send troops to Siberia, it was necessary to submit to Japanese aggrandizement in Siberia and China. But the whole plan cannot be carried out without American support. The top-heavy diplomatic structure built by M. Pichon will not stand unless America reinsures it. This reinsurance consists of Article Ten which stereotypes the false settlement of Central Europe, the new Triple Alliance created by the Anglo-American French treaty, the support of Kolchak and Denikin, and the ambitions of Japan in Shantung and Siberia.

The necessary step towards real peace is to defeat Article Ten and the French Alliance, wash our hands of the Russian civil war, and refuse to assent to the Shantung clauses. What would be the probable effect of such action? At first, no doubt, the fall of various ministries and a great commotion followed by liberal or even radical governments throughout Europe. Then a readjustment of the settlement on the basis of a European equilibrium made by governments that mean peace

rather than politics. Such a Europe is the only kind of Europe in which stability is possible. What is the alternative? It is to abet the system of alliances and meddle some more in Russia, until Europe has been stirred to such fierce resentment that the whole business is at last violently overthrown. We cannot save Europe by playing the sinister game now being played. There is no peace, no order, no security in it. It violates too many fundamental needs of Europe, and it cannot succeed. What it can do is to aggravate the mischief and intensify the schisms. It is too late to save the present governments by doing what they ask. The present governments are headed for a smash, and our aid can only push them a little harder into it. The sooner we point that out to them by withdrawing from the entanglements into which Mr. Wilson got himself and us, the easier and the less costly will be the reversal of European policy which it entails.

This is all the apology we have to offer for what may have seemed to some of our readers an undue emphasis on the Russian problem. Russia is not only the acid test, but the source of the whole miscalculation. Because we have gone wrong in Russia, we have gone wrong in Central Europe and in China. We have kept a world disorganized because we tried to impose upon a people in revolution conceptions of policy which they reject. In our effort to impose them we have jerry-built the middle of Europe, unduly enlarged the small reactionary empires, and submitted to the building up of war-making power in Japan for which some day we shall have to pay bitterly.

What we urge, no American has been ashamed to urge before, or need be now. It is to share in the decisions of Europe, to cooperate diplomatically and financially in the restoration and preservation of peace, to submit our own foreign affairs and special interests to consultation with other nations, but to reject all alliances, all guarantees of the status quo, all automatic devices for bringing us into the next war, and to leave Russia alone until the Russians have found their own way to stability.

One More Document Revealed

STILL another leak. This time by Mr. Hamilton Holt, Vice-President of the League to Enforce Peace and editor of the Independent. Mr. Holt published the American version of Article X before it went through the transfigurations of European diplomacy, and once again we see how the American programme was compromised away in Paris until it was made to mean just

exactly the opposite of what it was meant to mean.

Article X in its original form is worth quoting in full:

The contracting powers unite in guaranteeing to each other political independence and territorial integrity against external aggression. But it is understood between them that such territorial readjustments, if any, as may in the future become necessary by reason of changes in present racial conditions and aspirations or present social and political relationships, pursuant to the principle of self-determination, and also such territorial readjustments as may in the judgment of three-fourths of the delegates be demanded by the welfare and manifest interests of the people concerned, may be effected, if agreeable to those people and to the States from which the territory is separated, or to which it is added, and that territorial changes may in equity involve material compensation. The contracting powers accept without reservation the principle that the peace of the world is superior in importance to every question whatever of political jurisdiction or boundary.

This is as different from the version that emerged from Paris as the Fourteen Points are different from the Treaty of Versailles. For this version contemplates the peaceful revision of boundaries; the accepted version obstructs revision.

Mr. Wilson is often spoken of as the author of Article X, but any one who compares the two drafts will see that the European Powers edited Mr. Wilson by striking out everything after the first sentence. They struck out everything in the article which was designed to avoid making the League an instrument for maintaining the status quo. Mr. Wilson proposed guarantees against violent readjustments and guarantees of peaceful readjustment. Mr. Wilson got a guarantee against readjustments. He made a proposal which every liberal in the world would gladly support. He accepted a pledge which no prudent man, no matter what his hopes, can underwrite if he understands its European significance.

The revelation shows again how Mr. Wilson was undone because he lost his grip on essentials. His Article X is turned into its opposite. His solemn warning against special alliances emerged as a special alliance with Britain and France. His repeated condemnations of secret treaties emerges as a recognition that "they could not honorably be brushed aside," even though they conflicted with equally binding public engagements entered into after they had been written. Openly arrived at covenants were not openly arrived at. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers was applied to German barriers and accompanied by the blockade of a people with whom we have never been at war. The adequate guarantees to be given and taken as respects armaments were taken from Germany and given to no one. The

"unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development" promised to Russia and defined as the "acid test" has been worked out by Mr. Wilson and others to a point where so cautious a man as Mr. Asquith says he regards it with "bewilderment and apprehension." The righting of the wrong done in 1871 emerges as a concealed annexation of the boundary of 1814. The "clearly recognizable lines of nationality" which Italy was to obtain has been wheedled into annexations which have moved Viscount Bryce to denounce them. "The freest opportunity of autonomous development" promised the peoples of Austria-Hungary failed to define the Austrians as peoples. "The territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations" were redefined as territories inhabited by any Polish populations. American protection of Chinese interests was signalized by the scandal of Shantung.

All this, we are assured, "squares, as a whole with the principles agreed upon." It squares in almost no detail, but it does "as a whole." We shall venture a guess as to what this means. Mr. Wilson did stop the plan to annex the left bank of the Rhine, and it is from that victory, more than from anything else, that he derives his sense of accomplishment. He was so glad to escape this crowning outrage that he can regard all the others as trivial. But if he will look closely at the terms of his French alliance in conjunction with articles XLII, XLIII, XLIV, of the Treaty of Versailles, he will see that the stage is set for the Rhineland intrigue, and that even then his victory was an illusion.

Why insist upon all this so many times? Because the Treaty of Versailles and the controlling Triple Alliance constitute one of the largest traps into which a well-meaning people can stumble. After the repeated demonstrations of the last months it is now impossible to accept Mr. Wilson's explanations of what went on at Paris as valid. He has shown again and again that he does not grasp the critical detail of the questions he deals with. To ratify without reservations which leave America freedom of diplomatic action would be a colossal folly. A world settlement was made in Paris which cannot be administered in the world today, and it is either blindness or misrepresentation to pretend that the failure to accept and to guarantee the result will add to the world's unrest.

The execution of the project is what will drive Europe and Asia to rebellion, and the real wreckers, the truly irresponsible people, are those who are willing to sign without looking, to promise without knowing what it is they have promised.

A Rebuttal

OUR readers will recall a first-hand account of the Kolchak dictatorship written by Dr. Joshua Rosett, an American official who has recently returned from Siberia where he was engaged on work for the Red Cross, the War Board, and the Committee on Public Information. An attempt to answer Dr. Rosett's charges appeared in *The Review* of July 12th. The answer is written by Mr. Jerome Landfield, the most prominent and the most active of American propagandists for Kolchak. The answer admits the essential charge—that Kolchak crushed a democratic, anti-Bolshevik government in Siberia. It does not deny that acts of cruelty and tyranny without number have been committed by Kolchak and his clique. Mr. Landfield not only corroborates the accusations, but approves of the coup-d'état and its methods. Moreover, and this is the essential point, his attitude towards the Constituent Assembly of 1917 is exactly that of the Kolchak regime. The assembly was dispersed by the Lenin dictatorship, and some of the members were murdered by the Kolchak dictatorship. This constituent assembly, which was approved by the peace conference, as the proper provisional government of Russia for the period following the present civil war, Mr. Landfield characterizes as Bolshevik.

At our request Dr. Rosett has written a memorandum on this point:

"But the members of the Constituent Assembly who were *dispersed* by the Bolsheviks and *murdered* by Kolchak were not Bolsheviks. And I shall bring to bear upon my statement the testimony not of 'disgusting . . . garbled reports' or of 'conversations with Bolsheviks' but of *Zaria*, a newspaper published at Omsk by Kolchak's own party and known to be the staunchest advocate of Kolchak in Siberia.

"The reader may remember my account of the rebellion at Omsk on December 21st. The rebels opened the jail and freed the imprisoned members of the Constituent Assembly. Here is what *Zaria* has to say on the subject:

When the attempt was made to set them free, violence was used to pull them out, against their will, from their cells. When they refused to leave the premises of the jail, it was represented to them (falsely) that if they did not escape they stood in danger of being shot . . . because the government at Omsk had passed into the hands of the Bolsheviks . . .

The Bolsheviks would not indeed have spared the members of the Constituent Assembly, in the name of which only recently, though for a short while only, the Volga was taken, and in the name of which Ataman Dutoff conducted his campaign . . .

rather than politics. Such a Europe is the only kind of Europe in which stability is possible. What is the alternative? It is to abet the system of alliances and meddle some more in Russia, until Europe has been stirred to such fierce resentment that the whole business is at last violently overthrown. We cannot save Europe by playing the sinister game now being played. There is no peace, no order, no security in it. It violates too many fundamental needs of Europe, and it cannot succeed. What it can do is to aggravate the mischief and intensify the schisms. It is too late to save the present governments by doing what they ask. The present governments are headed for a smash, and our aid can only push them a little harder into it. The sooner we point that out to them by withdrawing from the entanglements into which Mr. Wilson got himself and us, the easier and the less costly will be the reversal of European policy which it entails.

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Mr. Wilson is often spoken of as the author of Article X, but any one who compares the two drafts will see that the European Powers edited Mr. Wilson by striking out everything after the first sentence. They struck out everything in the article which was designed to avoid making the League an instrument for maintaining the status quo. Mr. Wilson proposed guarantees against violent readjustments and guarantees of peaceful readjustment. Mr. Wilson got a guarantee against readjustments. He made a proposal which every liberal in the world would gladly support. He accepted a pledge which no prudent man, no matter what his hopes, can underwrite if he understands its European significance.

The revelation shows again how Mr. Wilson was undone because he lost his grip on essentials. His Article X is turned into its opposite. His solemn warning against special alliances emerged as a special alliance with Britain and France. His repeated condemnations of secret treaties emerges as a recognition that "they could not honorably be brushed aside," even though they conflicted with equally binding public engagements entered into after they had been written. Openly arrived at covenants were not openly arrived at. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers was applied to German barriers and accompanied by the blockade of a people with whom we have never been at war. The adequate guarantees to be given and taken as respects armaments were taken from Germany and given to no one. The

"unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development" promised to Russia and defined as the "acid test" has been worked out by Mr. Wilson and others to a point where so cautious a man as Mr. Asquith says he regards it with "bewilderment and apprehension." The righting of the wrong done in 1871 emerges as a concealed annexation of the boundary of 1814. The "clearly recognizable lines of nationality" which Italy was to obtain has been wheedled into annexations which have moved Viscount Bryce to denounce them. "The freest opportunity of autonomous development" promised the peoples of Austria-Hungary failed to define the Austrians as peoples. "The territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations" were redefined as territories inhabited by any Polish populations. American protection of Chinese interests was signaled by the scandal of Shantung.

All this, we are assured, "squares, as a whole with the principles agreed upon." It squares in almost no detail, but it does "as a whole." We shall venture a guess as to what this means. Mr. Wilson did stop the plan to annex the left bank of the Rhine, and it is from that victory, more than from anything else, that he derives his sense of accomplishment. He was so glad to escape this crowning outrage that he can regard all the others as trivial. But if he will look closely at the terms of his French alliance in conjunction with articles XLII, XLIII, XLIV, of the Treaty of Versailles, he will see that the stage is set for the Rhineland intrigue, and that even then his victory was an illusion.

Why insist upon all this so many times? Because the Treaty of Versailles and the controlling Triple Alliance constitute one of the largest traps into which a well-meaning people can stumble. After the repeated demonstrations of the last months it is now impossible to accept Mr. Wilson's explanations of what went on at Paris as valid. He has shown again and again that he does not grasp the critical detail of the questions he deals with. To ratify without reservations which leave America freedom of diplomatic action would be a colossal folly. A world settlement was made in Paris which cannot be administered in the world today, and it is either blindness or misrepresentation to pretend that the failure to accept and to guarantee the result will add to the world's unrest.

The execution of the project is what will drive Europe and Asia to rebellion, and the real wreckers, the truly irresponsible people, are those who are willing to sign without looking, to promise without knowing what it is they have promised.

A Rebuttal

OUR readers will recall a first-hand account of the Kolchak dictatorship written by Dr. Joshua Rosett, an American official who has recently returned from Siberia where he was engaged on work for the Red Cross, the War Board, and the Committee on Public Information. An attempt to answer Dr. Rosett's charges appeared in *The Review* of July 12th. The answer is written by Mr. Jerome Landfield, the most prominent and the most active of American propagandists for Kolchak. The answer admits the essential charge—that Kolchak crushed a democratic, anti-Bolshevik government in Siberia. It does not deny that acts of cruelty and tyranny without number have been committed by Kolchak and his clique. Mr. Landfield not only corroborates the accusations, but approves of the coup-d'état and its methods. Moreover, and this is the essential point, his attitude towards the Constituent Assembly of 1917 is exactly that of the Kolchak regime. The assembly was dispersed by the Lenin dictatorship, and some of the members were murdered by the Kolchak dictatorship. This constituent assembly, which was approved by the peace conference, as the proper provisional government of Russia for the period following the present civil war, Mr. Landfield characterizes as Bolshevik.

At our request Dr. Rosett has written a memorandum on this point:

"But the members of the Constituent Assembly who were *dispersed* by the Bolsheviki and *murdered* by Kolchak were not Bolsheviki. And I shall bring to bear upon my statement the testimony not of 'disgusting . . . garbled reports' or of 'conversations with Bolsheviki' but of Zaria, a newspaper published at Omsk by Kolchak's own party and known to be the staunchest advocate of Kolchak in Siberia.

"The reader may remember my account of the rebellion at Omsk on December 21st. The rebels opened the jail and freed the imprisoned members of the Constituent Assembly. Here is what Zaria has to say on the subject:

When the attempt was made to set them free, violence was used to pull them out, against their will, from their cells. When they refused to leave the premises of the jail, it was represented to them (falsely) that if they did not escape they stood in danger of being shot . . . because the government at Omsk had passed into the hands of the Bolsheviki . . .

The Bolsheviki would not indeed have spared the members of the Constituent Assembly, in the name of which only recently, though for a short while only, the Volga was taken, and in the name of which Ataman Dutoff conducted his campaign . . .

"The rebellion was immediately quelled. The escaped members of the Constituent Assembly were still at large. Continues Zaria:

But the military authorities, the Minister of Justice, in a word, all those to whom the families or the friends of the freed men addressed themselves, were positive in their assurances that the best course for these men to take was to appear voluntarily at the prison. . . . The result was that the wives, relations and friends of the former prisoners escorted them to the prison doors.

At three o'clock at night on the 23rd of December, an automobile arrived in front of the prison. The men who had voluntarily returned to their confinement were placed in this automobile. They were taken, it is not known where, and shot.

Zaria asks:

What will our Allies say about this happening? All Europe, the whole world is looking at us!

"'Why was this done?' asks a *governmentally-disposed* newspaper. 'Is it possible that the members of the Constituent Assembly were murdered with a view to killing the idea of a Constituent Assembly itself?'

"Lest any Kolchak apologist may declare that Kolchak and the Omsk government were not responsible for these murders, I beg to quote the following "Declaration by the Government," as it appears in Kolchak's official organ, The Government Bulletin, dated December 29th and signed by the Supreme Ruler himself:

In view of the reports which have appeared in the press respecting the actions of official persons at the quelling of the rebellion of the 22nd of December, the Administration considers it a duty to declare definitely that, being responsible for the fate and peace of the Empire, the Government, in the person of the Supreme Ruler and his Council of Ministers have firmly determined to suppress without the least hesitation and with the utmost mercilessness every attempt at an uprising or at the shaking of the established order.

Therefore the determined and planful actions of the troops and the militia at the quelling of the uprising of the 22nd of December appear completely in accordance with the exigencies of the Administration.

In consequence whereof the Administration hereby expresses its gratitude to the troops and the militia who have participated in the quelling of the uprising for the able and manly fulfillment of their official duties

(Signed) ADMIRAL KOLCHAK."

Dr. Rosett continues:

"Mr. Landfield's attack on Agareff, Mayor of Vladivostok, is quite in line with his general attitude. 'This is a Bolshevik from America,' he says, 'who was parading under an assumed name. The only pity is that the Commissar did not imprison him at once for the criminal that he was, instead of allowing him to continue in office.'

"Such utterances are not becoming in a free

country. They savor of the language of the Tsar's Black Hundred. The fact that Agareff ran from the persecution of the Tsar under an assumed name and sought shelter for a time in the United States, can only endear him to his own countrymen. Russian autocracy, it is true, considered men like Agareff as criminals. But America esteemed them as heroes, as true patriots, as martyrs in a sacred cause.

"Agareff was the regularly elected Mayor of Vladivostok, a man of great ability, sincere and firm in the performance of his duties. He knew very well that he was risking his life in maintaining the right of the regularly elected members of the City Council to hold office, even though their opinions might not be acceptable to the Supreme Ruler at Omsk. Surely, similar action on the part of an American mayor would meet with universal approbation. Mr. Landfield tacitly implies his approval of the fifteen shots fired at Mayor Agareff in revenge for his heroic stand on the side of the law. But the law-abiding people of this country will not agree with him.

"His reference to Nikiforoff as a criminal who has served a prison sentence is of the same character as his attack on Agareff.

"Mr. Landfield challenges my characterization of Zimmerman, Kolchak's representative at Vladivostok, as 'the hated Commissar' on the ground that Zimmerman had been at one time Mayor of Vladivostok and a Director of an Association for Mutual Credit. To have been Mayor of a Russian city under the Tsar's regime does not constitute an adequate claim to the affections of the people. Nor is the Directorship of a financial institution of itself sufficient to endear a man to his fellow citizens. But when, after overthrowing an autocracy and instituting a representative government in its place, the people of a city are suddenly deprived of their right to vote according to the laws that they have made; when candidates are stricken off the ballot *because* they represent the interests of their constituents, instead of the interests of a handful of persons who were elected by no one and are responsible to no one, whose power rests solely on the power of the rifle; and when, in addition, the person who immediately carries these violations into effect is a one-time servant of the Autocrat;—then it is hardly to be expected that such a person would be anything but hated by the people.

"Much depends, of course, upon the standard by which we judge. Judged by American standards, the actions of the Commissar of the Maritime Province were despotic, unlawful, and in complete opposition to the most elementary rights of citizenship. Judged by the standards of the Tsar's Black Hundred, such actions were lawful and proper."

News Writers Union Local No. 1

FROM Copy Readers and Leg Men to Chief Editorial Writers, they have organized in Boston. The long awaited amalgamation of American brain workers with American hand workers has begun. A group of intellectuals who have clung tenaciously to their professional status have voluntarily surrendered their professional pride to place themselves under the protective guidance of the "hand workers."

The newspaper writers of Boston were not especially moved by the emotional tides that run in the heart of the world. They were not responding to revolutionary ideas caught out of the surcharged air. They had simply grown tired of wearing their white collars longer than they liked, eating poorer meals than agreed with them three times a day, moving their pinched families further and further out into the low rent suburbs, thinking perpetually of having to quit "the game" that fascinated them, enduring what wage-workers are understood to have endured in the past. Their union is a product of simple economic pressure guided by the herd instinct.

Last August when Boston newspaper "salaries" averaged \$21 a week, the men, despairing of getting more money by individual pleading with the owners, called an organization meeting. A fair proportion of Boston's two hundred reporters and editors came. An old-fashioned trade union organizer addressed them as "brainless brain workers." The words marked no new literary epoch in Boston; but next day,—pay day on one of the oldest papers,—for the first time in a generation the pay envelopes were not ready. When they finally appeared, each envelope held from \$3 to \$7 more than usual. Honest reporters questioned the management, but could get no explanation except the assurance that the amounts were not clerical errors and that the apparent mistakes were likely to be repeated next week.

Other papers developed the same mysterious habit. Did the Mercuries of our American Athens sit back content in their ability to smoke cork tips instead of plain ones? Oddly enough, these brain workers reacted just as certain other cultured, far-sighted men, miners, hod carriers, teamsters and plumbers, reacted some generations ago. "If," they soliloquized, "we got that from one meeting, without making demands, what will we get if we organize and demand?"

There had been a newspaper writers union in Boston for years; but it was of the kind which didn't debase itself with consideration of wages,

least of all strikes. It was a salaried professional men's club, dedicated to the good-fellowship of the green baize table and to the flower fund for funerals. It was not such an association as would have dreamt of calling in an old-fashioned organizer from the ranks of the hand workers for counsel. But they did it now and the hand workers showed them how to organize a real union. The new union grew. Boston newspapers had seizures every few months of that curious trembling which shook \$3 to \$7 more into the pay envelopes. Last spring the union presented demands,—a \$38 minimum for reporters, \$45 for desk men.

How did the brain workers arrive at those figures? Did they have statisticians make an investigation of the cost of living for professional men and compare figures with an estimate of the social worth of reporters to the community, or indicate the ratio between the level of thought in Massachusetts and the state of the creative instincts in the newspaper industry? Nothing of the sort. They simply asked the other union men in the building, the typographers, pressmen, photo-engravers and such roughnecks, what they were getting. These base mechanicals, they knew, had been reopening their signed-up two-year contracts every few months and had been getting raise after raise, until they were getting what to the brain workers seemed very handsome pay. The union reporters and editors, in a stir of their old professional pride, decided that wages for writing immortal copy ought to be bigger than wages for setting it up. The typographical union, by whom they were chartered, agreed to indulge their vanity. So they tacked a few dollars onto the typographers' and photo-engravers' scale,—and demanded.

They ran slap into the same old problem which heroic pioneers, like the gas-fitters and unbasted children's garment makers have always encountered, recognition of the union. And like the miners and railroad men and glass bottle blowers of old, the reporters and editorial writers had to establish in conference what was legally involved in their asseverated right to collective bargaining. The newspaper owners, like plumbing contractors before them, declared that to recognize the union meant handing over their control, meant "dictation of the editorial policy by employees," etc., etc. Legalistic argument monopolized the conferences. There was a rumor that all the newspaper owners in America had their eyes on Boston, hoping for a massacre. The organizers of the new union got strike sanction from the parent typographical union and the reporters and editors began asking what the mighty "hand" unions could do to help the infant "brain" union in case of strike.

The writers set an hour for a union meeting to be attended by all members at all costs. The hour was in the middle of the work day. The "hand" unions set the same day for a chapel meeting; the hour was a little past the middle of the work day. Nobody said so, but the suspicion spread that the writers might vote to strike, and that the mechanical unions, though bound by contracts not to strike, might find so much ordinary business to transact in chapel that the papers might miss several editions, or wait for days or weeks for chapel to adjourn. The owners decided that legal contention would waste money and provoke needless bad feeling. They withdrew their attorneys and settled.

The settlement was not considered worth publication by any Boston paper dealing with the new union. Still Lawrence, Lynn, and other neighboring towns are discovering writers' unions in their city rooms. In their first meeting after their victory, News Writers Union, Local No. 1 wirelessly no proletarian greetings to *Izvestia* or even *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires. They discussed instead whether hours and working conditions weren't after all the next legitimate business of their union. They did not ask their four union city editors to draft a new social order; they debated what to do about Mr. Hearst's lay-off of ten reporters on the heels of their victory. They noted that the typographical unions of New York recently won an award of \$34 to \$49.50 weekly; but they did not pass resolutions on the ultimate relations between wage increases and prices to the consumer or intervention in Russia. Let brakemen, miners and sand hogs do that sort of thing. But Boston newspapers have been acquiring reputation for unusually fair reports of labor news since the editors and reporters placed themselves under the guiding hands of the Typographical Union. Possibly they believe that since with them words are actions they can afford to let resolutions alone.

To Find New Packers

AGAINST none of our business associations has so much propaganda been launched with so little effect as against the packing plants of Chicago and Kansas City. Periodic probes and revelations stir up a flurry of interest. There is an attack in Congress; some of the newspapers print leaders; here and there a trade union or a farmers' league comes out with a proclamation. But after a short squall the storm passes. The packers hold their old line undisputedly.

What has marked the long campaign of propaganda has been a weakness in positive suggestion.

It has been easy enough to establish the fact of a packing-house monopoly. The packers themselves admit it, with full-page advertisements to claim that monopoly is the parent of efficiency—and in fact the single factor which has kept prices of meat from going to still more distant levels. What has wrecked the case of the packers' critics has been the fact that for the present system they have never supplied an alternative attractive enough to sustain their attack. For a long time their only proposal was "regulation." Whatever charm that word once had is worn down thin today. More recent critics of the system have been bolder. Many of them propose outright government operation of the packing-houses. But outright government operation is today not in the best standing. For that fact Mr. Burleson is more responsible than any other of his countrymen. Where large and vigorous associations want a change from the present order, the Railway Brotherhoods, for instance, their present proposals do not leave responsibility for operation exclusively in the hands of the government.

Today, in Congress, we have a fresh effort at legislation for the packing plants. This is a bill introduced in the Senate by Mr. Kenyon, and in the House by Mr. Anderson. It proposes neither government operation nor government ownership. It dates back to the theory of "regulation." But it must be said that it proposes a new and formidable brand of control. Under its terms licenses are to be issued to the packers and to the larger dealers in meats and dairy products. Then follows a list of punishable offenses: "Any unfair, unjustly discriminatory, or deceptive practice or device in commerce"; combining with other licenses to control prices; handling the market so as to increase prices "unreasonably," or "create a monopoly." There are other offenses listed of a similar sort. Penalty for violation of the code is either a revocation of license, not likely in the case of an essential industry, or a suspension of license with receivership in the public interest.

No doubt Mr. Kenyon and Mr. Anderson, particularly with this new threat of receivership, have drawn a bill that will go farther toward "regulation" of the packing industry than most of the experimental legislation which has preceded it. But the interesting thing about the Kenyon-Anderson bill is that it recognizes there is a limit to negative action, and that it carries a set of positive proposals aimed at decentralization of the packing industry.

The argument of centralization vs. decentralization in industry is one of long standing. But in the case of the packing plants there are certain objec-

tion to centralization which have never been answered to the satisfaction of those whom it is most important to convince: the producers. When the Department of Agriculture declares (as it did on July 4th) that prices for livestock are too low for the farmer and prices of meat too high for the consumer, it simply confirms a traditional suspicion held by many producers. These people feel that by their concentrated control the packers can buy when the market is glutted—and sell at their own pleasure. Raising live stock is a slower process than raising wheat. If the farmer believes that it means a better chance of being mulcted, it is the consumer who suffers from the fall of production.

Certain physical factors, in no way due to manipulation of the market, also argue the case against centralization. Despite an ingenious use of horns and bones in the manufacture of by-products, the packers have been unable to utilize a considerable part of each animal they receive in shipment. There is a waste in transportation which is enormous. There is an additional waste in the hauling of animals to Chicago and Kansas City from points all over the country, and then shipping directly back again the finished product. It is a waste, of course, not only in transportation: the door is opened to a long string of those commission merchants and middlemen whose restless energy we have come to respect.

It marks a new approach to problems in the packing industry when the Kenyon-Anderson bill—having laid down the rules and penalties of regulation—proceeds to the planning of a different and decentralized system of packing and storage. It proposes to license any number of standardized plants erected by municipalities, or subdivisions of states, or by their accredited representatives.

To these plants the new legislation would bring both a responsibility and a promise of assistance. Upon each plant it would be incumbent to furnish services to all comers "on fair and reasonable returns, and without unjust discrimination"; to impose "only such charges and rates as are reasonable"; and to submit records and accounts when so requested by the Secretary of Agriculture. In return, the federal government, through the Secretary, would secure for the small packers many of the advantages to which they are now barred. The Secretary would cooperate to secure adequate carrier service, including provision of the all-important "special car"; he would cooperate in matters of inspection and standardization, furnish model specifications free of charge, detail agents to advise each licensee of innovations in preservation and in other arts of the trade. No outright financial aid is contemplated. And wisely so. Re-

quests for federal appropriations would bring the "pork barrel" into action. The Kenyon-Anderson plan promises national cooperation, but leaves to each community the impetus of action.

If the federal government should abide by its pledges, particularly in the matter of adequate transportation, there is no reason why this new measure could not be the basis for a genuine redistribution of forces in the packing industry. Perhaps a decentralized system, even when it has better protection against the aggression of the large packers, would prove clumsy and incapable. If so, we shall at least know that a plan long cherished by many producers had broken down under its own weight, rather than been battered by the steamroller of the great Chicago concerns. Until there is proof of failure in action the Kenyon-Anderson plan promises both to save the waste incident to long shipments of livestock and to stimulate a greater production through the establishment of a multitude of conveniently local plants whose fairness is backed by a federal guarantee.

Increased production, of course, would be balm for the consumer. It might not come? Even so, for the consumer there would remain an excellent chance of profit. He would gain from a simpler and more open channel between himself and the producer. Many signs point to a rapid growth of the cooperative associations in America. From a local centre of production to a local centre of cooperative distribution—this is the shortest and most wholesome method for the routing of essentials. Toward such a routing the Kenyon-Anderson bill makes a start. It is an attempt at improvement upon the present system, not through the application of patches but rather by the proposal of a logical and possible alternative.

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As Seen From Mr. Wilson's Front Yard

AEONS upon aeons ago, when the bat-winged pterodactyl swooped down relentlessly upon its prey—I mean to say a long time ago, this humid cup in the hills that is now the Washington scene, may have been different; it must have been. With that we have no present concern.

But Washington itself; the Washington of the organic act, of the Adamses, John and John Quincy, of Martin Van Buren, Millard Fillmore, Rutherford B. Hayes, Benjamin Harrison and William H. Taft, is the Washington of Woodrow Wilson. Read Benton's *Thirty Years* or James G. Blaine's *Twenty Years* and comprehend the Sahara Desert. Regard the eternal changelessness of the two stone legs of King Ozymandias in the desert of Egypt and attune your mind to the tale I have to tell.

Come with me into Mr. Wilson's front yard and let us sit under a flowering magnolia and leisurely, as becomes the pure in heart and detached in mind, talk about the familiar apparitions who inhabit these pleasant walks and tinker with our destiny.

It passes belief how little is known about Washington by the country at large, and yet no city is more written about. Yet it is hardly ever justly appraised by the people at home. They seem to see it through a refracting and magnifying haze. New York and Chicago and San Francisco and St. Louis and New Orleans they know and can justly estimate. They are visualized clearly, but it is curiously true that almost every newcomer to Washington and every visitor suffers a sort of stage fright.

O. Henry in one of his stories tells about a cowboy going to New York and being diffident before New Yorkers, until he discovered they were people "just like Grover Cleveland and Geronimo and the Watson boys." No citizen of Danville, Illinois, or Pike County, Missouri, or Springfield, Massachusetts, would make any average American tongue-tied or step on his feet with embarrassment. Yet those three places have furnished the last three speakers of the House of Representatives, and the Speaker of the House is a great personage in Washington. Tourists to the Capitol peer into his room with awe, and nudge one another furtively and say "That's him," when they pass him by happy chance in a corridor. Then they go home and talk about it for days and days.

I do not know why it is that individually the Senators and Representatives and Cabinet members

are always so awe inspiring to their fellow countrymen, while collectively it has always been the fashion to disparage them. The late Henry Adams was the very greatest of Washington's correspondents, though I should have been afraid so to describe him in his presence. He spent a lifetime, from Lincoln's administration through Roosevelt's, looking at the Washington scene with clear eyes and interpreting the marionettes with the coolest, most detached mind that has ever been brought to that occupation. When I used to talk with him in the latter years of his life I found to my dismay that all of my slowly acquired discoveries he had known since the 60's, and some of them were known to his grandfather before him. Some of his impressions gathered between 1840 and 1869 might have been written this afternoon looking at the present assemblage here.

It is as true now as it was in President Taylor's administration that Senators are a distinct species, and that continuous service in Congress produces—a Congressman. They have their own easily discernible vocational stigmata. They are a distinct sort of human being and as easily distinguishable, once you know them, as a raw oyster from a cup of tea. The type reproduces with astonishing fidelity, despite the greatest moral, social and political convulsions.

Regard, if you will, against this background, the present Congress. It bids fair to be in continuous session until the national convention next June—a full year or more. It is commonly agreed that it will be the most important meeting of Congress that has ever been held in the lifetime of any living man. It will have to make decisions at the present session and the session beginning next December that will affect the lives, fortunes, happiness and security of millions of human beings.

I venture to adjure you to watch it: to watch it continuously. Study it and find out what it is doing and what it is not doing—and why. We, the people of the United States, must take and make the most important political decision that has ever faced us. We cannot be too well informed. Congress will do what you want it to do. It is afraid of you. Always before it acts on an important matter, it tries to find out what you think and follow your wishes. It will register your will. This fear of what the people back home will think is the constant, dominating emotion controlling the action of all politicians and elected office-holders.

There is no dominant, aggressive, powerful, in-

tellectual leadership in either branch of Congress just now. It is a headless sort of organization. It is seeking as I have never known it before to carry out the popular will. But, is there such a thing at this moment as a clearly defined, popular will, Congress is asking.

This country will never be the same as it was before the war began. Not all the wishing in the world nor all the king's horses nor all the king's men can put us back again where we were. We have been less affected, perhaps, than any other great country by the war. In France, in Great Britain, in Germany, in Russia, in Austro-Hungary, in Turkey, there have been revolutions, some of them bloody and involving force and civil war; others, bloodless and without disorders of such magnitude as seemed to spell anarchy. But in all these countries there have been and are progressing revolutions in the sense of a great turning over. New sources of power are being disclosed; redistributions are being made; old forces and old factors and old elements supplemented by new forces, new factors and new elements.

All organized society on this planet has been wrenched and racked and twisted and had its shape changed. We have not felt it so severely as any of the others, just as we did not feel the actual warfare so deeply as the European nations involved. But we must conform voluntarily to the changed conditions that have been imposed on the other peoples. Happily and by great good fortune, it lies with us to make these necessary conformations in comparative security and not under irresistible internal and external pressure.

In a broad, general way of speaking, we are incredibly rich, while the other nations are poor. Most of them owe us money, some of which they will never be able to repay. This is not an ideal posture of affairs for a society of nations, for a community or an individual. We must take an accounting of our assets and our resources. The government is now spending billions derived from our earnings where it formerly spent thousands, and it is doing it with no orderly plan or system. The money flows in and is dished out again; dished out in millions and billions. It is extravagant and disorderly and wasteful. Nobody pretends to say that the levy of taxation is equitable and that the expenditure of public revenue is governed by any system or any accurate knowledge of public needs. This sort of thing cannot go on forever. A nation can no more afford to continue the practice than could an individual.

Now, with all of this upon us, what is the position at Washington? It is almost incredible. In its essentials, Washington has hardly been touched by the war, if at all. One captures or discovers in

the executive departments or about the Capitol no sense of the convulsion and agony the world has gone through. One finds the same old figures going through the same old motions. They have been rocked about a bit in their places and were hustled and bustled while the war was actually being fought, but you should hear now their deep sighs of relief that the war workers and the dollar-a-year men are going or gone. They didn't like them. "We'll get things straight in a little while," they say,—meaning they hope to get back to the old basis and the old routine.

What do you suppose is the avowed, confessed, dominant impulse and driving force in Congress today, as this new session assembles? It is the reelection of a Republican House and with it a Republican President and Senate. In brief, political advantage. Every single thing this Congress does in the coming twelve months will be with an eye to its reelection with an increased majority and to turning the Democrats out of Washington. That is a perfectly legitimate aspiration under our system of government. It is true, it impairs the efficiency of Congress. It is true, it does not work for the general public welfare and well being. But nevertheless, there you are.

Our system is so arranged that Congressmen must necessarily spend two-thirds of their time making arrangements to endeavor to insure their reelection. I do not make any outcry against the system at this time, but it is a thing to be pointed out when the decisions of Congress and the discussions in Congress have assumed through the circumstance of the war such tremendous significance and importance. Six thousand night telegrams properly distributed will agitate Congress like a strong wind blowing over wheat, so sensitive is it just now to the possible political effect of anything it may do or leave undone.

The technical position is not less curious and interesting. The new Congress is made up in the Senate of 49 Republicans and 47 Democrats, and in the House of 238 Republicans, 195 Democrats, one Socialist (Victor Berger, of Wisconsin, who is threatened with the loss of his seat because of indictment under the espionage law) and one Prohibitionist (Mr. Randall, of California). In the Senate, it will be seen, there is an apparent majority of one Republican, but that chamber is not under any party control. The so-called Republican leaders cannot frame any party programme that cannot be upset by two or more dissenting Republican Senators.

In the House there is a clear Republican working majority. I ask you to consider for a moment the personnel of the so-called leadership of this majority. I do not seek to decry them or to dis-

parage them. I simply point my finger at them and ask you to look at them with me. Is it not one of the most singular and arresting phenomena in a disordered world now bristling with inexplicable phenomena and odd figures that the nominal leadership of the House should be confided in quite the natural course of events to such familiar political apparitions as Mr. Joseph W. Fordney, of Michigan; Mr. James R. Mann, of Illinois; Mr. J. Hampton Moore, of Pennsylvania; Mr. Martin Madden, of Illinois; and Mr. Frank W. Mondell, of Newcastle, Wyoming?

In every country in the world, except ours, where parliamentary government is enjoyed, the war has brought to the fore in the popular assemblies new men, new figures, new political elements, new groups representing new ideas, while we alone have reached back to the old standpat days—what the politicians now think of as the Dark Ages of our domestic concerns—and resuscitated these conservative veterans. They represent, even in the estimation of their own colleagues and party, an ancient order of things. I stress their present eminence because this new country presents at this critical moment parliamentary leaders so different from the men who will frame legislation in the old countries. In common with other democracies we have a strong liking for the rule of seniority and order of precedence. There is nothing I can say in its favor. It is responsible for the present organization in the House. It is responsible for the lack of new figures and new blood at the top. It enables a dull and mediocre Congressman coming from a "safe district" to remain in Washington year after year, to rise by inevitable processes to a place of power and authority and command. It made Mr. Claude Kitchin, of Scotland Neck, North Carolina, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, just as, in due course, it has made Mr. Fordney, of Michigan, his successor. It made Mr. Mann, of Illinois, the "logical candidate" for the speakership, and only the recognition of his own party that "the country wouldn't stand for Mann for Speaker" caused him to be set aside from that eminence and left him actually, if not nominally, Republican leader in the House.

The politics that will be played at this session will merit and deserve the most intelligent scrutiny. Always there is much politics in Congress during the session preceding the national conventions and a general election. Always there is politics in Congress when it is in the hands of one political party and the White House and the executive departments are controlled by the opposition. This year both sets of circumstances exist, plus an array of such national and foreign problems as we have never had to face. There will be some close,

smooth work in the labyrinth before the final settlement is made. Not much can be looked for in the way of an affirmative programme of legislation unless there is strong, steady, continuous, intelligent pressure from an aroused public understanding. I know how bored the average man is by being exhorted to take an interest in public affairs. His own private affairs are so interesting and so pressing that he feels he has not any time to devote to matters that do not seem to concern him directly. But the things Congress is called upon to do and the decisions to be made this year you will find, in effect, are your private affairs. They concern you directly. They touch your pocket book. They touch your wages or salary or income. They touch your food and clothing and the future of your children.

I do not attempt to judge this newly assembled Congress in advance of its performance. Currents of progress much stronger than the nominal leadership of the House are sweeping through the United States. They are bound to make themselves felt. The 2,000,000 returning soldiers are making public opinion in the United States hour by hour. It is not formulated or clarified or crystallized as yet; but it is in progress. Each of these homecoming men will color the thoughts of a half-dozen other men and women. The effect is incalculable at this juncture.

Another movement full of meaning and significance is reported to be about to take place. Trustworthy authorities who concern themselves with the problems of emigration and immigration say that 5,000,000 aliens in the United States have made all their arrangements and are now prepared and ready to go back to Europe as soon as they can get transportation. Another 5,000,000 are reported to be ready to follow this example as soon as they hear some definite news of conditions in their old homes on the continent. The report is current and has run like wildfire through the foreign-born population in the United States that there are to be great distributions of free lands in Europe. If and when 10,000,000 people, or even 5,000,000, leave the United States virtually in a body, there is hardly one of us who will not be affected by the migration. But that is aside from my present purpose.

For too many years it has been my avocation and occupation to observe the Washington scenes and the stream of players who make their entrances and their exits. Not in my time has the scene been so worthy of study and attention and understanding as now. For your entertainment and enlightenment, if for no other reason, study Washington. Watch this Congress.

EDWARD G. LOWRY.

Voltaire

BETWEEN the collapse of the Roman Empire and the Industrial Revolution, three men were the intellectual masters of Europe—Bernard of Clairvaux, Erasmus, and Voltaire. In Bernard the piety and the superstition of the Middle Ages attained their supreme embodiment; in Erasmus the learning and the humanity of the Renaissance. But Erasmus was a tragic figure. The great revolution in the human mind, of which he had been the presiding genius, ended in failure; he lived to see the tide of barbarism rising once more over the world; and it was left to Voltaire to carry off the final victory. By a curious irony, the Renaissance contained within itself the seeds of its ruin. That very enlightenment which seemed to be leading the way to the unlimited progress of the race, involved Europe in the internecine struggles of nationalism and religion. England alone, by a series of accidents, of which the complexion of Anne Boleyn, a storm in the Channel, and the character of Charles I were the most important, escaped disaster. There the spirit of Reason found for itself a not too precarious home; and by the beginning of the eighteenth century a civilization had been evolved which, in essentials, was not very far distant from the great ideals of the Renaissance. In the meantime the rest of Europe had relapsed into medievalism. If Bernard of Clairvaux had returned to life at the end of the seventeenth century, he would have been perfectly at home at Madrid, and not at all uncomfortable at Versailles. At last, in France, the beginnings of a change became discernible. The incompetence of Louis XIV's government threw discredit upon the principles of bigotry and obscurantism; with the death of the old King there was a reaction among thinking men towards skepticism and toleration; and the movement was set on foot which ended, seventy-five years later, in the French Revolution. Of this movement Voltaire was the master spirit. For a generation he was the commander-in-chief in the great war against medievalism. Eventually, by virtue of his extraordinary literary skill, his incredible energy, and his tremendous force of character, he dominated Europe, and the victory was won. The upheaval which followed, though it was perhaps inevitable, would certainly not have pleased him; but the violence of the French Revolution and its disastrous consequences were evils of small magnitude compared with the new and terrible complication, in which, at the very same moment, mankind became involved. The ironical Fates were at work again. By a strange chance, no sooner was medievalism dead than industrialism was born. The mechanical ingenuity of a young man in Glasgow plunged the world into a whole series of enormous

and utterly unexpected difficulties, which are still clamoring to be solved. Thus the progress, which the Renaissance had envisioned, and which had seemed assured at the end of the eighteenth century, was on the side-tracked. Yet the work of Voltaire was not undone. Short of some overwhelming catastrophe, the doctrine which he preached—that the world should be ruled, not by the dictates of tradition and superstition, but by those of reason and humanity—can never be obliterated from the minds of men.

Voltaire's personal history was quite as remarkable as his public achievement. Sense and sensibility were the two qualities which formed the woof and the warp of his life. Good sense was the basis of his being—that supreme good sense which shows itself not only in taste and judgment, but in every field of activity—in an agile adaptation of means to ends, in an unerring acumen in the practical affairs of the world; and Voltaire would probably have become a great lawyer, or possibly a great statesman, had not this fundamental characteristic of his been shot through and through by a vehement sensitiveness—a nervous susceptibility of amazing intensity, which impregnated his solidity with a fierce electric fluid, and made him an artist, an egotist, a delirious enthusiast, dancing, screaming, and gesticulating to the last moment of an extreme old age. This latter quality was no doubt largely the product of physical causes—of an over-strung nervous system and a highly capricious digestion. He was in fact an excellent example of his own theory, propounded when he was over eighty in the delicious *Les Oreilles du Comte de Chesterfield*, that the prime factor in the world's history has always been *la chaise percée*. So constituted, it was almost inevitable that he should take to the profession of letters—the obvious career for a lively and intelligent young man—and, in particular, that he should write tragedies, the tragedy holding in those days the place of the novel in our own. Naturally, he was precocious; and by the time he was thirty he was a successful dramatist and a fashionable poet, enjoying a royal pension and the flattering attentions of high society. Then there was a catastrophe which changed his whole life. He quarrelled with the Chevalier de Rohan, was beaten by hired roughs, found himself ridiculed and cut by his fine friends, and finally shut up in the Bastille. This was the first of the long chain of circumstances which ultimately made him the champion of liberty in Europe. But for the Chevalier de Rohan he might have been engulfed in the successes and pleasures of the capital. The coups de bâton suddenly made him serious: never again was he satisfied with the state of the world. The importance of his English exile, which followed, has usually

been exaggerated. Voltaire did not need to learn infidelity from the English deists, and he never did learn very much about English political institutions. England was not a cause, but a symbol, of his discontent. His book upon the subject was his first definite declaration of war upon the old regime, and it was burnt accordingly by the common hangman. It might have been supposed that his course was now clear, that he was embarked once and for all, on a career of struggle and propaganda. But this was not the case. Circumstances intervened once more, in the shape of the eccentric and terrific Madame du Châtelet, who carried him off to her remote country house, and kept him there for fifteen years engaged on scientific experiments. This long period, which filled the middle years of his life (from forty to fifty-five), though it seems at first sight to have been almost wasted, was in reality a blessing in disguise, for it gave him what was absolutely essential for his future work—a European reputation. When Madame du Châtelet died (at exactly the right moment), Voltaire was recognized not merely as the greatest living dramatist and poet, and as a brilliant exponent of new ideas, but as a man of encyclopaedic knowledge, whose claim to rank as a solid and serious thinker it was impossible to dismiss. All that was needed to put the crown upon his celebrity was some piece of resoundingly personal *réclame*; and this was provided by the Berlin episode, with its splendid opening, its preposterous developments, its hectic climax, and its violent close. At the age of sixty, Voltaire was the most famous man in the world. Yet it is strange to think that his fame was founded on achievements that were almost entirely ephemeral, and that if he had died then he would be remembered now merely as an over-rated poet and a very clever man. His first sixty years were in reality nothing but an apprenticeship for those that were to follow. Settled down at last at Ferney, on the borders of France and Switzerland, perfectly independent, with the large fortune which his business shrewdness had amassed for him, with his colossal reputation, and his pen, Voltaire began the work of his life. Apart from his personal prowess, most of the elements in the situation were favorable to him. The time was ripe: the new movement was like an engine which had slowly risen up a long and steep ascent, and was standing at the top, waiting for a master hand to propel it forward and downward with irresistible force. But there were two contingencies, either of which might at any moment have proved fatal. Everything depended upon Voltaire's continuing at Ferney for a considerable time: it was clearly impossible to "*écraser l'infame*" in a year or so. Yet how many years could he count upon? With his abominable health, he had very little reason to hope for a long old age. Neverthe-

less a very long old age was granted him. Incredible as it seemed, he lived to be eighty-four, maintaining the whole vigor of his extraordinary vitality to the last second of his existence: for a quarter of a century he worked with his full power. The other danger lay in the curious fact that he himself never quite realized the strength of his position. In his restless egotism, he was perpetually trying to get leave to return to Paris; and if he had succeeded the greater part of his influence would almost certainly have disappeared. At Ferney, he was his own master; he was safe from the intrigues of the capital; and his remoteness invested him and everything about him with the mysterious grandeur of a myth. If the authorities had had the slightest foresight, they would have welcomed him with open arms to Paris, where his time would have been wasted in society, where his quarrelsomeness would have landed him sooner or later in some dreadful mess, where, inevitably, the "patriarch" would at last have vanished altogether in the very fallible old gentleman. It was the final stroke of luck in an amazingly lucky life that Voltaire should have been saved from his own folly by the folly of his enemies.

The history of the years at Ferney is written at large in that gigantic correspondence which forms one of the most impressive monuments of human energy known to the world. Besides the vast body of facts which it contains, besides the day-to-day record of a moving and memorable struggle, besides the exquisite beauty, the aesthetic perfection, of its form, there emerges from it, with peculiar distinctness, the vision of a human spirit. It cannot be said that that vision is altogether a pleasing one. There is a natural tendency—visible in England, perhaps, especially—towards the elegant embellishment of great men; and Voltaire has not escaped the process. In Mr. Tallentyre's translation, for instance, of a small selection from his letters, with an introduction and notes, Voltaire is presented to us as a kindly, gentle, respectable personage, a tolerant, broad-minded author, who ended his life as a country gentleman much interested in the drama and social reform. Such a picture would be merely ridiculous, if it were not calculated to mislead. The fact that Voltaire devoted his life to one of the noblest of causes must not blind us to another fact—that he was personally a very ugly customer. He was a frantic, desperate fighter, to whom all means were excusable; he was a scoundrel, a rogue; he lied, he blasphemed, and he was extremely indecent. He was, too, quite devoid of dignity, adopting whenever he saw fit, the wildest expedients and the most extravagant postures; there was in fact a strong element of farce in his character, which he had the wit to exploit for his own ends. At the same time he was inordinately vain, and mercilessly revengeful; he was as mischievous as a monkey, and

as cruel as a cat. At times one fancies him as a puppet on wires, a creature raving in a mechanical frenzy—and then one remembers that lucid, piercing intellect, that overwhelming passion for reason and liberty. The contradiction is strange; but the world is full of strange contradictions; and, on the whole, it is more interesting, and also wiser, to face them than to hush them up.

LYTTON STRACHEY.

The Student Revolt in China

THE depression that bore China down after the Paris decision to hand Shantung over to Japan was fraught with as much pessimism as bitterness. China knew her weakness as against any other large Power of the world. She knew that her political division, with a civil war not yet officially closed, her industrial backwardness, her financial chaos, put her in a position where she could not say a decisive No to any country bent on exploiting her. Accordingly, she hung pathetically and tremblingly upon the deliberations of the peace conference. Morning and night she kept up her hopes by repeating the assurances given by the Allied statesmen of the creation of a new international order and of the future protection of weak nations against the rapacity of the strong. And her hopes needed support, for they were mingled with fears. Better than western nations she knew how far Japan was prepared to go, for twice during the war she had yielded to Japan's barely disguised threat of war. She also knew more about the secret treaties and understandings than did the western nations. Hence it was that the Paris decision created despair rather than the bitter antagonism to America and the other Allies which might have been expected. The outcome just proved that Force still ruled; that Might still made Right in international affairs; that China was hopelessly weak and Japan threateningly strong.

On May 4th a thrill stirred this hopelessness. Somebody had *done* something. Students of the Peking University had demonstrated, and in the course of their demonstration had deliberately attacked and beaten up two of the three Chinese statesmen who are popularly known as traitors because of their part in negotiating various secret treaties and loans with Japan. A stir moved vitally through the national apathy. The weakness, possibly the corruption of Chinese officials, had had a responsible share in the Shantung decision (it is always the Shantung and never the Tsingtau question in China). If China could not count upon other nations, she might at least do something to

put in order her own house. The students' act was received not as a chance act of lawless lynching, but as a gesture of righteous indignation. The air was again tense with expectation. Was the Peking event anything more than a passing gesture?

Events followed quickly. The government arrested a number of students. Then their fellows protested; troops were thrown about the University buildings. The city was practically under martial law. The provinces were rife with rumors of the readiness of the Chinese militarist clique to go to any extreme in the way of slaughter to put down opposition; rife even with rumors of an impending coup d'état to fix irretrievably the hold upon the government of the militarist and pro-Japanese party. The Chancellor of the University, whom the militarists hated as the intellectual leader of the liberal elements, resigned and disappeared, because, according to report, not only his life but those of hundreds of students were threatened. Then came the news that all of the students in Peking in institutions above the rank of the elementary school had struck in protest against the action of the government. They had not only struck, but they had made definite demands (of which more below); and they had organized into bands of ten, who were everywhere making open-air speeches, defying the military police to arrest them, and trying to organize the public that listened to them into similar bands of ten to carry on propaganda.

This time the thrill throughout the country was electric. The seventh of May is the day kept as the Day of National Shame. Even the primary schools have banners in them, "Remember the seventh day of the fifth month." This day of national humiliation is the anniversary of the Japanese twenty-one demands. The coincidence of dates had a powerful effect. Students from the Peking University rapidly dispersed through the country, addressing themselves primarily to students in all the large centres. The latter became restless; then they struck; middle (high) school students, normal and technical schools; again everything above the elementary grade. Everywhere the bands of ten were organized, speakers were drilled in what to say and how to say it, and the popular propaganda spread through the provinces. And the multitude heard it gladly.

The unorganized hostility to Japan took form in a boycott. That was one of the themes of the boy and girl orators. They did not content themselves with general exhortations. Lists of Japanese goods were printed and mimeographed by the thousand; classified lists of all Japanese products sold in China. Similar lists of substitute native goods were circulated. In some of the schools the industrial

department set to work to discover what Japanese goods could be made in existing shops without additional capital. As soon as models were constructed they were taken to small shops and their mode of manufacture explained. Then, to create a market, other students took these goods and hawked them through the streets, lecturing, exhorting, explaining the political situation at the same time. And as the vacation period comes on these students are dispersing all over China peddling goods and speaking, speaking, speaking . . .

Meantime the government was not idle. Political speeches were forbidden, students' meetings were forcibly broken up, many scores of students in different parts of China were sorely injured, a few were killed. It is not difficult to foresee the future memorial meetings in honor of these martyrs of patriotism, or even the shrines wherein their memory will be revered. Then the government at Peking took more drastic measures. Mandates were issued condemning the students, ordering them under penalty of dissolution of schools to return to their studies, to disband their unions, and to cease concerning themselves with what was none of their business, praising by name the men popularly regarded as traitors, warning against the boycott, and in general saying that foreign affairs should be left in the hands of the government. Coincidentally several hundred students were arrested in Peking for speaking. With the fatuity which affects militarists in China as well as elsewhere, it was promised that this would put an end to the students' agitation. The next day the number of students speaking on the streets was more than doubled, and the arrests ran to above a thousand. The students planned to go on till every man was in jail. Girl students formed a procession (some of them had to break down gates to get out) to wait upon the President and request the freeing of students; they said they would remain praying for justice all night if he did not hear them. The jails could not hold the arrested students. These were shut up in the University buildings and left with little food and less water, with cordons of troops around them. The faculty met; protested against this military invasion; against the degradation of using halls of learning as jails; against the abuse of patriotic students; and they telegraphed their protest widespread.

Events had been moving outside of Peking. This last arbitrary action was the beginning of the end. Merchants in Shanghai went on strike; shops were closed, including those selling food; the merchants in Tientsin and Nanking joined; those in Peking and other cities prepared to join. There was plenty of evidence that the students had practically succeeded in converting the merchants to their side;

that they no longer stood alone, but had effected an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the powerful mercantile guilds. There was talk of a strike against paying taxes. The government capitulated suddenly if not gracefully. Troops were withdrawn from the University grounds and the students invited to come out. They declined, and announced that they would stay in till the students everywhere were guaranteed the right of free speech and until the government officially apologized to them. Two days more saw the end. The government sent delegates to make the required apology; a new mandate was issued saying that the country realized that the students were actuated by patriotic motives, and should not be interfered with if they kept within the law. The "resignations" of the three men called traitors were accepted. Undoubtedly the spread of the strike to the merchants, and the fear of its further extension, were the actuating motives in the inglorious surrender. But the students had managed to get their propaganda into the army. Rumors were afloat that the armies could not be counted upon for further suppressions—especially as pay was far in arrears. After their triumphant march from out their self-made prison, students were heard to lament that the government changed the guards so often they had not been able to convert more than half their jailers.

The original demands made upon the government were few and simple. The students arrested for engaging in the beating-up enterprise must be freed and given immunity from prosecution; the Chancellor who was so obnoxious to the militarist clique must be reinstated. By the time the government was ready to meet these first demands (in outward form, at least), the demands had greatly increased. Instructions must be given to delegates in Paris not to sign the treaty except with reservations as to Shantung, all "traitors" must be dismissed, all secret understandings with Japan abrogated, freedom of speech guaranteed. Within about a month the Student Movement had won all its points except the third and first; and with respect to the first the government had promised to do all that the international situation permitted; and fell back vaguely upon advice received from Great Britain, France and President Wilson to sign, with hopes of later readjustment. Yet there is no evidence that the students are deceived as to the amount of success they have achieved. The military clique is still in full command; the places of the three dismissed men will probably be filled by other men of the same pro-Japanese affiliations. Externally things are much as they were before. No successful revolution in government or in foreign affairs justifies giving this amount of space to the Student Movement.

But the prestige of the militarist faction has received its first great blow—and prestige is the primary feature of Oriental politics. A negative boycott, sure to fail in the end, has been changed into a constructive movement for development of home industry—a movement still in its infancy but capable of effective development. The possibilities of organization independent of government, but capable in the end of controlling government, have been demonstrated. It is hard to estimate the significance of the fact that the new movement was initiated by the student body. Reverence for the scholar is traditional in China. It still holds over from the rank accorded the literati in former days. From the western standpoint it amounts to superstitious regard. Yet this is the first time that students have taken any organized part in politics. Beyond what their speaking and writing have done in organizing public opinion at the present emergency is the abiding effect for the future. Most of the outward signs of the movement—aside from hawking goods and teaching patriotism at the same time—have now subsided. But a National Students' Union has been formed and definite plans have been made for the future. Already attempts are making to unite the people of the divided north and south in a way that will cut under the militarists of both sides. It would be highly surprising if a new constitutionalist movement were not set going. The combination of students and merchants that has proved so effective will hardly be allowed to become a mere memory. Already in some cities it has been extended into a Four Group Union, and efforts are making to extend this larger organization throughout the country.

Probably a foreign observer would count as the most precious fruit of the movement the awakening of China from a state of passive waiting. A sharp blow has been given the idea that China itself is helpless and must be saved from without. In spite of the charges of which the Japanese newspapers are full that the movement was instigated, and even financed, by foreigners, especially Americans, it was a strictly native movement, showing what educated China can do, and will do, in the future. The spell of pessimism seems broken. An act has been done, a deed performed. Perhaps there is now a healthier, better organized, movement from within China itself for China's own salvation than at any time since the Revolution.

Even if nothing more were to come of the movement, it would be worth observation and record as an exhibition of the way in which China is really governed—when it is governed at all. American children are taught the list of "modern" inventions that originated in China. They are not taught, however, that China invented the boycott, the gen-

eral strike and guild organization as means of controlling public affairs. In no other civilized country of the present day (leaving Russia out of account now as an exception to all rules) is brute force such a factor in official government as in China. But in no other country could moral and intellectual force accomplish so quickly and peaceably what was effected in China in the last five or six weeks. This formulates the standing paradox of China. But in the past the moral forces which fundamentally control have been organized only for protest and rebellion. When the emergency is past, the forces have again dissolved into their elements. If the present organization persists and is patiently employed for constructive purposes, then the fourth of May, nineteen hundred and nineteen, will be marked as the dawn of a new day. This is a large If. But just now the future of China so far as it depends upon China hangs on that If.

JOHN DEWEY.

Peking, June 24th.

The Conviction of Townley

THE recent trial and conviction of A. C. Townley, president of the Nonpartisan League, on the charge of conspiracy to discourage enlistments in the war against Germany, has a much wider significance than the setting would seem to indicate. It is one of the final clinches of the long and bitter fight between the old political system in the Northwest and the organized farmers and laborers who are seeking to throw off the shackles of economic exploitation working through political channels. It was expected that conviction would justify the methods of the big business political machine and retrieve in a measure its falling fortunes. An acquittal would have given added sanction to the Townley-led organization and have brought in thousands of dues-paying members. It now appears that conviction may do this to even better advantage and thus help on the cause of the Nonpartisan League.

In the nature of the specific charges brought against Townley and his head organizer, Gilbert, there was no reason why they should have been indicted and put to trial in Jackson County, in southern Minnesota, rather than in any other one of the 86 counties of the state in which they had been active in seeking membership. The reasons were mainly circumstantial and extrinsic, but very excellent. In the first place, there existed here the unusual combination, as rural conditions go, of a most active and a technically proficient prosecuting attorney and a judge who adds a good knowledge of the strategy of procedure to an inflexible temper

and determination to see justice done as he interprets it, even though the heavens fall. Nowhere else in the state could such a happy combination have been found. In addition an assistant attorney-general was sent down from the state capitol to aid in the prosecution. The local attorney is also suspected of having the additional incentive to success of a candidacy for the office of attorney-general. He has been prominently mentioned for this post by the big business press and he has been untiring in his condemnation of the league before political and other gatherings.

But courts alone cannot convict. In this case the jury was excellent to the purpose. Nowhere else in the Northwest are the lines between Leaguers and non-Leaguers so tightly drawn as in the rich farming district of southern Minnesota. Neutrals scarcely exist; farmers are either for or against. The well-to-do farmers, many of whom have financial interests or financially interested relatives in the towns, are very likely to side with the town business men, who in turn ally themselves with big business in opposition to the League, of which Mr. Townley is the president and the organizing genius. It turned out that each member of the jury in this trial was sufficiently well-to-do to possess his own automobile.

The trial, lasting nearly three weeks, was a great event for the rural town of Jackson. The defense, as well as the prosecution, had made elaborate preparations and had brought or planned to bring witnesses, including a number of prominent politicians and members of congress, in great numbers. But it was soon evident from the conduct of the trial that most of their evidence would not be admitted by the court. Charges of unfairness and prejudice were constantly made by friends of the League. In the first place the defense had been denied a change of venue asked for on the ground that the trial judge was prejudiced, basing its request in part on statements attributed to the judge in an interview in one of the local newspapers, which runs in part as follows: "There are no Nonpartisan League candidates for office in Martin County, nor will there be. We are suspicious of them, and have barred them out. . . . Supposing these leaders—demagogues like Townley and others—could convince a lot of farmers that they were not being paid enough for their wheat and they should refuse to sell it. Don't you see how such a move would disorganize the government's war plans? I don't say this will be done or is contemplated; but I say that it might be done and I believe that some of the leaders of the Nonpartisan League are unscrupulous enough to do it."

The conduct of the trial itself was certainly not liberal toward the defense. All testimony from

that side was excluded unless it was in the nature of a direct answer to the specific charges made by the state. On the other hand, the state was allowed to introduce testimony regarding activities of the defense outside of the jurisdiction in which the crime was charged and even regarding events which occurred in other parts of the state after the indictment had been drawn. The newspaper reports of the judge's rulings on the state's objections made to the defense's testimony often sounded markedly like defenses of the prosecution. These clashes and arguments over admissibility of evidence occupied a very large percentage of the total time of the trial. A number of times the court in making a ruling stated it in terms implying the guilt of the defendant, but apparently recollecting himself, qualified with some such statement as, Assuming defendant guilty. The defense charged a frame-up between the prosecution and their chief witness and offered to prove perjury, but testimony in this direction was excluded. Since the close of the trial, indictments charging perjury have been sought by the defense against the prosecuting attorney and the chief witness.

The method of handling the jury was also a subject of much criticism and of formal protest by the defense. A special set of three "triers" was chosen to select the jury. It was claimed that these "triers" were unfriendly to the League. The defense was allowed only four peremptory challenges. Obviously this did not go far in eliminating persons objectionable to them out of a total panel of 144. It is worthy of remark that in a community in which there were practically no neutrals no member of the League should have been on the jury list, although their leading candidate in the county had fallen only 31 short of a majority at the recent election. One member of the preliminary panel is reported to have remarked on the stand that he did not see how a jury could be drawn, since every one would have to admit that he was prejudiced against the League. The jury, when chosen and while hearing the evidence, was not segregated. Members were allowed to go and come and sit in the local hotel lobbies, where discussion regarding the trial was at white heat. A local paper made the statement in large headlines that for the past few weeks Jackson (the seat of the trial) had been visited by "Nonpartisan leaguers, Red Card Socialists, and pro-Germans." Also, "Because a man steals a horse on Monday and does not on Tuesday is no sign he is innocent of horse stealing." Copies of this issue were said to have been distributed in large numbers in the hotel lobby.

The prosecution was not able to offer any direct evidence to support the charge of conspiracy be-

tween Townley and Gilbert to discourage enlistments, either within the county or within the state itself. Their evidence was circumstantial and inferential. The defense brought numerous witnesses of good standing to discredit the character of the chief witness for the prosecution, who is himself under federal indictment for disloyalty. His testimony was, in part, to the effect that he had heard Townley call the war "This damned war," or some other similar phrase. On the other hand, witnesses for the defense testified that they had received strong incentives to loyalty from Townley's talks and conversation. The prosecution not only failed to produce documentary evidence of opposition to the war in any of the League declarations or instruction sheets and letters to organizers, but the defense was able to show documentary evidence of this character of positive support to the war. Documents showing that organizers were specifically commanded not in any way to discourage the government's war policies, but to support them, were introduced. The court would not allow the government's certificate of loyalty and acknowledgement of aid to be admitted as evidence.

The documentary evidence which the prosecution did introduce and upon which it relied in the main in this connection was a general declaration by the National Convention of the Nonpartisan League held in 1917, to the effect that the war was caused by the exhaustion of home markets and the need of foreign sources of raw materials and opportunities for investment, and that it was further supported by profiteers—statements very similar to those made by high public officials and students of the question everywhere. This is the orthodox explanation of Germany's interest in the war and is accepted by most of the strongest professional defenders of loyalty. There was nothing in the League's declaration to show that it applied to the United States instead of to Germany. Furthermore, two of the members of the executive com-

mittee of the League (Townley is the third) testified that Townley had no hand in formulating these resolutions, but that they were primarily the work of Congressman Baer of North Dakota.

Despite all these facts, Townley's conviction did not come as a surprise to the people of Minnesota who understand affairs. The defense, thoroughly discouraged as to the possibility of being allowed adequately to present their side, did not offer a closing argument. They devoted most of their energies in the latter part of the trial to making a court record which would bring out forcibly their contention of error and thus entitle them to a retrial—they hope, with a change of venue. It is the impression of many people who sympathize with the conviction of Townley that the court was overzealous in its passion for justice. I use the phrase "sympathize with the conviction of Townley" advisedly, for, strange as it may seem, the question is locally only secondarily one of justice—of guilt or innocence of the accused—and primarily of whether they are for or against Townley as a matter of policy.

Also, strangely enough, the big city dailies, which have never been able to say enough against Townley and the League, have been strangely reserved about this legal victory. Their comment was for the most part confined to a single issue and even lacked the usual exuberance. Two reasons may be assigned for this. One is that the traditional American love of fair play shows signs of reasserting itself. A surprisingly large number of people of the "best" sort speak in very uncomplimentary terms of the trial. On the other hand the trial and conviction have only stimulated the forces of agriculture and labor to renew their energies for future battles. They have been given a weapon they can use. The newspapers are in a position to get these facts. And even the Bourbon psychology is not absolutely impervious—at least not after the deluge, even if it is before.

C. R. JOHNSON.

The Soviet Idea in Germany

TWO sights arrested my attention during a first walk in the central streets of Berlin towards the end of April. The public buildings in Unter den Linden and the Wilhelmstrasse were still covered with the pockmarks of rifle and machine-gun fire. The city had gone through the small-pox of revolution and survived with scars. Rather more interesting than the bullet-marks was a conspicuous printed notice which still adorned the Opera House, the University and some of the buildings where the ministries were housed. "Under the Protection," it ran, "of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council of Berlin." Germany is a parliamentary republic of the conventional pattern with its

president, and its responsible cabinet of ministers, its parliament elected by universal suffrage, its states built on a similar pattern, while its cities have their orthodox elected municipal councils. It had still its small and highly efficient army, the pick of the youth of the old war-machine and at the doors of these very buildings the sentries paced up and down, sturdy young men in smart "field-gray" uniforms with shapely steel helmets on their heads and hand-grenades in their belts. Yet in spite of ministers and parliaments and well-paid volunteer sentries it was still worth while to remind any insurgent warriors who might have been tempted to assail these buildings that they were under the protection

of the Berlin Workers' Council. These councils, constructed on the plan of the Russian Soviets have as yet no assured place in the draft constitution. They are simply committees elected by the workmen of Berlin, and yet, as these notices suggested they have some moral power which a legal government backed as the Ebert-Scheidemann régime was by horse and foot by guns and grenades did not disdain to call to its aid.

Hard by the first of these notices which caught my eye was a placard announcing a lecture. It was a striking bill, and I saw it again and again as I wandered about Berlin. Like the "protection" notice it became for me a symbol of contemporary Germany. It announced that at one of an important series of meetings organized by the Democratic party (i. e. the middle-class Liberals) a well-known professor would lecture on the theme "Why has Weimar caused disillusionment?" The choice of the subject and the wording of the title were significant. Weimar, where the National Assembly meets is, of course, the symbol for democracy of the conventional western parliamentary type. The pathos of this lecture lay in the fact that for three generations the political groups of which the Democratic party is the heir, have preached representative democracy as the one thing needful. Others, the Socialists for example, have preached it, as a necessary ingredient in something else, or a necessary stepping-stone to a happier shore, but for the Democrats democracy was enough. One may reproach them with infidelities and weaknesses, lapses into imperialism and occasionally, though rarely, with a passing sycophantic prostration before royalty, but they and their forefathers, from 1848 downwards, had certainly stood for parliamentary government, and for most of them England had been the model. The Revolution of November had fulfilled their wildest dreams. It had brought not merely democracy but republican democracy. No opposition from the Right dared any longer raise its head, and it only remained to discuss the details, and to work out the plan of the most enlightened constitution in Europe. For a generation most of these men had dreamed, not indeed of this complete fulfillment of their hopes, but of some slow and distant approach to it. A year ago even the reform of the Prussian franchise had seemed a slightly precarious hope, and now everything had come at once—responsible government, women's suffrage, proportional representation, the democratization of Prussia and the disappearance not merely of the Hohenzollerns but of the whole brood of princely families. A working saddler was President of the German Reich, and a former compositor dictated policy in Bismarck's old Chancellery. The Democrats, elderly or middle-aged, gentlemen of a slow digestion, would have liked to sit down to a lengthy process of rumination, to survey their realized ideal and find it good. They had to recognize, however, that contemporary Germany took only the faintest interest in this dream of constitutional perfection. The masses were thinking of anything and everything else, and already a formidable and growing Left Wing talked as though the perfect model of parliamentary democracy were a thing intellectually as obsolete as the Junker ascendancy, and as remote from the real life of the people as monarchy itself. Of Weimar and the Assembly few troubled even to talk, and these few, for the most part, with impatience. All over Germany the Left was setting up ephemeral Soviet governments, and when comrade Noske's "Free Corps" had upset them, with a maximum of bloodshed, it wanted only a fresh epidemic of strikes to prove that nothing in reality was settled. Instead of sitting down to celebrate the triumph of parliamentary democracy, the unhappy Democrats were reduced to offering apologies for

Weimar. They were frank enough to recognize that Germany had lost an illusion.

For the contempt in which Weimar was rather generally held, there were some accidental and temporary reasons. It was generally said of William II. that he had destroyed the monarchy for ever by his inglorious flight. The removal of the National Assembly from its natural seat in the Capital to the provincial calm of Weimar had a like effect. It was an act of cowardice, a retreat before the passionately discontented masses of Berlin. In the second place, Weimar had to assume responsibility for the government of Germany in an hour of universal malaise. It was free, indeed, of responsibility for the catastrophic defeat for which Kaiserdom, the Junkers, and the Pan-Germans bore the blame. The real cause of the social misery, the hunger, the cold, the unemployment of the terrible winter that followed the armistice, was the continued Allied blockade, maintained with completer rigidity than ever, even in the matter of food, up till the month of April, while as regards raw materials it was never for a moment relaxed. No one could fairly blame Weimar for the blockade—though to be sure, I have heard Left Wing Socialists argue (absurdly in my opinion) that the whole attitude of the Allies would have been gentler, if persons less compromised than Scheidemann and his colleagues had sat at the council table. Certainly, Weimar was blamed for the inadequacy of its remedial measures, and for the savagery with which the Spartacus revolt was suppressed. Few peoples are just to their governments at such times, and Weimar became associated with hunger, revolt and distress. The worst of all was that the Assembly took its functions as a constituent body with enormous seriousness. It set to work at once, and worked with German thoroughness at the task of elaborating the constitution. As luck would have it, what Germany in this dark winter needed was not the ideal democratic constitution, but some interim solutions of social problems which would give confidence to the workers and ease the difficult task of persuading them to work and think constructively. Those who had voted for the Socialist lists saw with satisfaction a Socialist President and a Socialist Premier at the head of the state, but nothing was socialized, not even the coal mines. They had expected some immediate result from their votes, but nothing happened that touched their daily lives. In some degree the very perfection of the democratic machine was to blame. The proportional system had given to every group its exact share of representation, but it returned no one party in numbers sufficient to form a homogeneous administration. Under a simple majority-vote with single-member constituencies, the parties of the Right instead of securing 15 per cent of the representation would probably have disappeared, and the two Socialist parties would have had numbers enough (if they could have composed their feud) to form a purely Socialist government with an adequate majority. Finally, Weimar was a disappointment, because the German people, when it made its revolution, expected that a democratic Germany would receive better treatment from the Allies than the old "autocracy" would have done. That had been the burden of speeches in which Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George had held out this hope in plainer words than statesmen often use. As the months went by, that expectation vanished, and Germans understood that their democratic republic was to be a pariah and a helot in Europe. As the news of one scheme after another, of annexation and economic enslavement reached them from Paris, the task of making a constitution for a dwindling Fatherland began to look vainer than ever. I happened to be talking to Professor Preuss, the Minister charged with drafting the constitution, when the first sum-

mary of the peace terms arrived. "We had nearly finished our building plan," was his comment, "but they are destroying our site."

Enough of faith and optimism was left even in this defeated and despondent nation to seek out an alternative to the older democratic form which had disappointed it. An ever-widening circle saw in the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, based on the Russian Soviet model, the future structure of representation in Germany. The reasons which have made this tendency a stream too strong to be resisted are as various as the reasons which discredited Weimar. The Extreme Left, of course, saw in these Councils the apt instruments of the coming social revolution. Without that motive it is doubtful whether they would ever have been created. With some disguises the Left built them up for this purpose, and whenever the revolution triumphed, whether in reckless Munich or sober Hanover, the Councils were ready to direct it. The curious fact was that although this intention was barely disguised by the Left, the more moderate parties were obliged to fall into step. The Majority Socialists, or rather the inner directing ring of their powerful organization, were never really friendly to the Council idea. They are an essentially conservative force like all disciplined political machines. They have a long past behind them, and their instinctive attitude toward every new idea is one of jealousy and hostility. In politics they believed in the old parliamentary forms, and could not advance beyond the ideal for which they had battled for a generation. In industry, they believed in the trade unions as the organs of class struggle, and the trade union officials, who are as influential among them as they are in the British Labour party regarded the Councils as dangerous rivals to their own unions. None the less, the Majority Socialists were carried by the public opinion of the working class far beyond their own wishes in a recognition of the Councils, and busied themselves, not with open opposition, but with the invention of compromises which would give the Councils some place in the working-class movement compatible with the survival of Parliament and the trades unions. More interesting still was the attitude of the "black-coated" workmen, especially the clerks, who were at first considered as "bourgeois," and were left outside these class organizations. One of the most startling results of the war and the blockade in Central Europe is that the wall of partition between the manual worker and the brain-worker has worn very thin. The clerk, the teacher, the civil servant and the small professional man have been much less successful than the well-organized trade unionists in raising their nominal earnings, and as the value of money fell, they have often sunk to a level of poverty much below that of the artisan. The struggle to preserve appearances and to seem to be members of the master-class, is maintained with much less than the old obstinacy. More and more these salaried employees have learned to think of themselves as proletarians. The Berlin clerk today votes for the Majority Socialists, or, if he clings to a bourgeois party, his choice is the Democrats. So it happened that the bank clerks of Berlin made an obstinate strike (and won it) not merely for an increase of salary, but for the right to form their Council like other workmen, and to send their delegates to the Berlin Soviet. There are in that big and stormy body, by no means tolerant to minorities, a little group of "Democratic" (or as we should say, "Liberal") representatives, who take their full part in debate with the Socialists, and prove their loyalty to the institution by their good humor in facing a noisy and far from sympathetic audience. While I was in Berlin, con-

tinual declarations of adhesion to some form of the Council idea were appearing in the press. One came from the veteran Liberal economist Professor Brentano, and another in the form of a lengthy, reasoned resolution was passed by the organization which represents the employers of Berlin. They obviously believed that the way out of revolutionary chaos lay in the friendly recognition of these Councils by the state, and the attribution to them of a real but limited sphere of influence.

The Left had its own clear and decided idea of the function and future of the Councils. It intended that they should remain a class organization in the broad meaning of that word. Every genuine worker, including the salaried employer and the professional man, should have a vote for them, but no employer, no rentier, none who lived by the toil of others. I heard a debate on the draft of a new formal constitution in the Berlin Soviet during May. Some of the marginal cases were rather curious. The Left was quite ready, for example, to enfranchise doctors in ordinary practice, but it wanted to exclude doctors who make a living by keeping sanatoria in which they "exploit" the labor of junior doctors and nurses. The Right wished to include even the employer if he were himself active as manager and organizer; but in the Berlin Soviet, as it is today, the Left is dominant. The real driving forces of the movement, the extremer "Independents" like Daumig and Richard Müller, and of course the Communists, regarded Parliamentary institutions as obsolescent. They meant sooner or later to make Germany a "Räte-Republik"; in other words, to suppress the rival institutions and to make the Räte (Councils) the sole legislative and executive authorities. Any compromise they regarded as purely transitional.

For the moment the idea of compromise has won. The one permanent result of the March general strike was that the government promised to give the Workers' Councils a definite place in the German constitution. As yet, the scheme agreed upon between the Scheidemann cabinet and a delegation from the Berlin Soviet (in which at that time the "Majority" Socialists were leading) exists only in outline. It is a promise that the constitution shall recognize, or set up (1) Works' Committees representing all workers and employers in every factory, mine, etc. (2) Industrial Councils in every trade of the "Whitley" type to regulate the general conditions of production, representing both employers and workers; (3) Chambers of work, representing employers, the professions and the workers of all trades in definite territorial districts; and (4) A Chamber of Work for the whole German realm, with a right of suggestion and consultation on all industrial and social-political legislation.

This "compromise" was a clever stroke on the part of the non-revolutionary majority, for in a subtle way it turns the weapon of the Left against itself. The intention is that the Chamber of Work, and the local analogous bodies, shall represent employers and employed on a basis of parity. Thus, the pure class organization, the Workers' Council, is transformed into a body based on the equal rights of capital and labor. No one, so far as I know, has suggested the introduction of any disinterested or balancing element. I had an opportunity of discussing the scheme with Herr Julius Kaliski, the leader of the anti-official Opposition within the "Majority" Socialist party, and one of the ablest thinkers in the Socialist movement. He regards the government's offer merely as a first step. In his view, the Chamber of Work is destined to be a more important body in the constitution than the Reichstag itself. He claims for it parallel legislative powers, even outside the field of indus-

trial and social legislation. How, as he justly asks, can one divorce industrial policy from the foreign policy of the state, in a world where foreign policy turns continually on the struggle for markets and raw materials? He would provide for conflicts between the two Chambers by giving the Reichstag the right which the British Commons have against the Lords, to carry a bill which it had passed three times, in spite of the veto of the Chamber of Work. When I suggested that a Chamber composed in equal parts of workers and employers would be an unmanageable body with no internal cohesion, no single driving force, and no motive which could give unity of direction, he answered that the Chamber of Work would represent the community as producer, and that the interests of production itself would give it unity. He assumed, in fact, that the desire to serve the community by producing in the best possible way, is ultimately the dominant motive alike with employers and employed.

There is in this German compromise between the old forms of democracy with their basis in territorial representation and the new form with its basis in industry, a close parallel to the solution propounded even before the war, by our British Guild Socialists. The Germans have, however, reached their compromise mechanically. They find the state and the old form of democracy in existence, and they make terms with it but trouble themselves very little to assign it a suitable function. The Guild Socialist on the other hand does not merely tolerate or accept the "democratic" parliament; he regards it as the necessary representation of citizens regarded as consumers. His structure is no mere compromise; it is a recognition of the fact that the same person will act and vote somewhat differently, according as he is organized as consumer or producer. The German "Councils" movement, on the other hand, is thinking only of the worker as producer.

This interesting phase of social evolution in Germany was interrupted for a moment by the crisis over the terms of peace. The next few months will show whether it can be directed into the channels of a constitutional development. For my part, I am inclined to think that the class cleavage, sharpened intolerably by the miseries of war and the blockade, is too acute to admit of such compromises as the government or even Herr Kaliski propose. The Independents and the Communists scoff at the idea of any Chamber of Work in which the employing class has equal representation with the workers. They are fanatically attached to the Council idea, not merely because it is a more supple and natural form of representation than the old territorial basis, but above all because it represents the worker to the exclusion of the capitalist. The Councils enter as no conventional "democratic" body can, into the worker's daily life. They give to every employee security against unjust dismissal. In them he acts with comrades in close association and to use them as a basis for political action also, is an inevitable development. The compromise is not yet accepted, and the power of the Left is growing. The tactical value of the Workers' Council for the Left is, firstly, that it brings together all the workers, no longer sundered in crafts and divided in trade unions, as a single class with a solid interest against capital as a whole, and secondly, that it can wield the weapon of the political strike. At bottom, it is, I believe, the acuteness of this class cleavage in Germany which explains the decay of Parliament. Parliament is neither a Workers' nor an Employers' Council, but a confused attempt to reflect the unity of a nation, where, in fact, unity no longer exists.

The compromise might, I think, stand a chance of suc-

cess, if at the start some of the chief industries were already nationalized. If, for example the mines and the big metal concerns were represented among the employers on the Council not by profit-making companies but by the democratic state as owner then the two halves of the Chamber of Work would no longer reflect an unbridgable class cleavage. Under these conditions the Chamber of Work would tend to be a body specially charged with the duty of preparing the progressive socialization of industry and graduating the stages of public control over production. Evolution in the present condition of Germany can hope to cope with revolution only if it moves rapidly and visibly. The pace since November has been too slow primarily because the makers of the republic failed to realize that democracy is no longer for any living society an end in itself.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

Advice to a Forest

O trees, to whom the darkness is a child
Scampering in and out of your long green beards:
O trees, to whom sunlight is a tattered pilgrim
Counting his dreams within your hermitage
And slipping down the road in twilight-robes:
O trees, whose leaves make an incense of sound
Reeling with the beat of your caught feet,
Do not mingle your tips in startled hatred
When little men come to fell you.
These men will saw you into strips
Of pointed boarding dryly blind with paint,
And trail the gray staccato of their lives
Against a glaring maze of walls
Much harder than your own.
And when, at last, the deep brown gaze
Of stolidly amorous time steals over you,
And dustily riotous vagabond-days
Brush their rags of sunlight over your sides,
The little men who bit into your hearts
Will stray off in a patter of rabbits' feet.

Look down upon these rabbit-children then
With the aloof and wistful tolerance
That all still things possess,
O trees, to whom the darkness was a child
Scampering in and out of your long green beards.

MAXWELL BODENHEIM.

Personality

All that I write is dyed with my heart's hue;
And yet it is not mine, some loftier power
Has steeped my thought before it met your view
In curving leaf and variegated flower.

The sun pours life into a thousand forms,
But though that glorious ardor be the same
In every tiniest leaf its effluence warms,
Men give to each new plant its separate name.

So with divine omnipotence the sun
Of Love shines freely on a myriad seeds,
And, though the source of radiance be but one,
They thrill diversely into blossoming deeds.
One flower is red, another one is blue;
This is called "I," and that one there is "You."
CHARLES WHARTON STORK.

Sons of Belial

I

We are old,
Old as song.
Before Rome was
Or Cyrene,
Mad nights knew us
And old men's wives.
We knew who spilled the sacred oil
For young-gold harlots of the town . . .
We knew where the peacocks went
And the white doe for sacrifice.

II

We were the sons of Belial.
One black night
Centuries ago
We beat at a door
In Giliad.
We took the Levite's concubine.
We plucked her hands from off the door . . .
We choked the cry into her mouth
And stuck the stars among her hair . . .
We glimpsed the madly swaying stars
Between the rhythms of her hair . . .
And all our mute and separate strings
Swelled in a raging symphony—
Our blood sang pæans
All that night
Till dawn fell like a wounded swan
Upon the fields of Giliad.

III

We are old . . .
Old as song.
We are dumb song.
(*Epics tingled in our blood*
When we haled Hypatia
Over the stones
In Alexandria.)

Could we loose
The wild rhythms clenched in us—
March in bands of troubadours—
We would be of gentle mood.
When Christ healed us
Who were dumb—
When he freed our shut-in song—
We strewed green palms
At his pale feet.
We sang hosannas
In Jerusalem.
And all our fumbling voices blent
In a brief white harmony.

(*But a mightier song*
Was in us pent
When we nailed Christ
To a four-armed tree.)

IV

We are young.
When we rise up with singing roots,
(*Warm rains washing*
Gutters of Berlin

Where we stamped Rosa Luxemburg
On a night in spring . . .)
Rhythms skurry in our blood.
Little nimble rats of song
In our feet run crazily,
And all is dust . . . we trample . . . on.

Mad nights when we make ritual
(*Feet running before the sleuth-light . . .*
And the smell of burnt flesh
By a flame-ringed hut
In Missouri,
Sweet as on Rome's pyre . . .)
We make ropes do rigadoons
With copper feet that jig on air . . .

We are the Mob . . .
Old as song.
Tyre knew us . . .
And Israel.

LOLA RIDGE.

L'Après-Midi d'un Faune

I follow through the singing trees
Her streaming clouded hair and face
And lascivious dreaming knees
Like gleaming water from some place
Of sleeping streams, or autumn leaves
Slow shed through still, love-wearied air.
She pauses: and as one who grieves
Shakes down her blown and vagrant hair
To veil her face, but not her eyes—
A hot quick spark, each sudden glance,
Or like the wild brown bee that flies
Sweet winged, a sharp extravagance
Of kisses on my limbs and neck.
She whirls and dances through the trees
That lift and sway like arms and fleck
Her with quick shadows, and the breeze
Lies on her short and circled breast.
Now hand in hand with her I go,
The green night in the silver west
Of virgin stars, pale row on row
Like ghostly hands, and ere she sleep
The dusk will take her by some stream
In silent meadows, dim and deep—
In dreams of stars and dreaming dream.

I have a nameless wish to go
To some far silent midnight noon
Where lonely streams whisper and flow
And sigh on sands blanched by the moon,
And blond limbed dancers whirling past,
The senile worn moon staring through
The sighing trees, until at last,
Their hair is powdered bright with dew.
And their sad slow limbs and brows
Are petals drifting on the breeze
Shed from the fingers of the boughs;
Then suddenly on all of these,
A sound like some great deep bell stroke
Falls, and they dance, unclad and cold—
It was the earth's great heart that broke
For springs before the world grew old.

WILLIAM FAULKNER.

A COMMUNICATION

"Territorial Integrity and Existing Political Independence"

"THE members of the League," declares Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations, "undertake to respect and to preserve as against external oppression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all the members of the League. In the case of any such oppression or in case of any threat or danger of such oppression the Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled."

Objection to this article has been conspicuous since its publication, both among liberals and Tories. Among liberals it has grown in extent and intensity from the time the nefarious character of the peace terms to Germany have been realized. They held that the good in it merely duplicates other parts of the Covenant while its evil is that it guarantees an untenable status quo, prohibiting international readjustments, jeopardizing minorities and liberating oppression. And things of this sort the United States cannot and should not guarantee. The reactionaries, on the other hand, are not concerned about safeguarding minorities or preserving international justice. They see in Article X an inhibition upon an aggressive national policy south of the Rio Grande, an inhibition upon the government's doing what it thinks good and right to secure the "vital national interest." What they conceive this interest to be may be learned from the anonymous *America After the War*, a series of letters first published in the *New York Times* and afterwards republished in book form. Their author is called the "foremost American jurist" and his style or lack of it is strikingly like that of the Honorable Elihu Root. The fundamentally opposed aspirations of progressive international democracy and militant financial imperialism are, in the view of their protagonists to be insured by the same identical means—the elimination of Article X from the Covenant of the League of Nations. On this elimination are agreed Mr. Walter Lippmann and Mr. Elihu Root, Mr. Philander Knox and Mr. William Hard, Mr. Oswald Villard and Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge. The state of mind which assumes that opposite results are to be secured by the same identical means gives one pause. . . .

Through the elimination of Article X either the thing Mr. Lippman wants will happen, or the thing Mr. Lodge wants. Both cannot happen. Which is more likely may be inferred from a survey of the historic precedents to the underlying issue. It is these precedents which, more than anything else, have dominated the making of the peace, and the peace was made without any guarantees of "territorial integrity and existing political independence" to hinder the peacemakers. . . .

Need it be repeated, or rather, can it be too often repeated, that the motives which animate wars and are gratified by the peace treaties that end them are those which, taken together go by the euphemism "vital national in-

terests"? Prior to the industrial revolution they embraced the creation of strategic treaties, the addition of taxes, man-power and other forms of loot. After the industrial revolution they came to include sources of raw material, areas of investment, markets and harbors. In no instance save one, and that is by no means an unambiguous one, did they involve as a primary purpose the liberation of an oppressed people on the guarantee of a revolution. The ambiguous exception is the American intervention in Cuba. All other instances of intervention are instances primarily of imperialistic oppression. The French monarchy did not intervene in the American Revolution to do American Republicanism good, but to do Britain harm; its intervention was an incident in the historic Franco-British rivalry. The second empire did not intervene in Italy for the sake of freeing Italians, but for the sake of reducing Austrian power. The British in Egypt, India, Ireland, the Transvaal, the Sudan, can hardly be said to have concerned themselves with the liberties of the peoples of those countries. Nor, during our Civil War, can the desire of their ruling classes to recognize the south be attributed to that motive. Nor will even the Irish be likely to claim that the German intrigue in Ireland during the war was due to love of the Irish. On the other hand, the European assault on the French Revolution (and America was "neutral" during its greatest danger), the threat of the Holy Alliance against democracy which called forth the Monroe Doctrine, the French imposition of monarchy in Mexico during our Civil War, the choking off of free Persia, the iniquitous and progressive partition of China, accelerated enormously since the formation of the republic, the American intervention in Haiti and San Domingo, both German and Allied intervention in Finland, the depraved assault on the revolutions in Russia and in Hungary all show how little likely it is that intervention, past or present, safeguards revolution. In point of fact, Article X, which guarantees nations against external aggression guarantees, as Lord Cecil has already declared, the security of internal change. It is precisely what saves the League from becoming a Holy Alliance. It does precisely extend the first intention of the Monroe Doctrine to the whole world. It does precisely insure against the interference of the League and its members, internal changes, the conflicts between peoples and governments, between majorities and ruling minorities, the right of the unprivileged to win for themselves the status of freedom and equality. Had an Article X been in force prior to August, 1914, there could hardly have taken place the overrunning of Belgium and Serbia, nor would a settlement have been possible containing the arrangements about the Saar and Shantung. Indeed, Article X insures, no matter what the Japanese may do in Shantung in the interim, that ultimately Chinese possession and rule there shall be sovereign.

But the reply is obvious—if these things had not happened, neither would the unspeakable Poles have been set free, nor the Czecho-Slovaks, nor the Yugoslavs, nor the Finns, nor the Lithuanians, nor the Armenians. These peoples were minorities victimized and oppressed by ruling

majorities of alien race. True. But the war has resulted only in putting the boot on the other leg. An objection to the peace treaties constantly repeated is that they create a great many new irredentas, that they violate the principle of nationality. And of course they do. No treaty can be written which, unless it arranged for the transplantation of great masses of population, would not violate the principle of nationality. Nowhere can ethnic and political boundaries be coincident, and no realization of any pan-Slavic or pan-German programme could, without violating other principles no less important, make them so. If the Jewish and Lithuanian and Ruthenian minorities among the unspeakable Poles, the Magyar and German minorities among the Czecho-Slovaks, the German and Jugoslav minorities among the Italians, and minorities of whatever kind anywhere, are guaranteed civil and economic equality as individuals and linguistic, religious and cultural freedom of national groups, all has been done that can be done. Now the treaties between the Central Powers and the Allies, the Allies and the new and older Central European states secure identically this guarantee and make its violation a prime concern of the League of Nations.

More is neither necessary nor desirable. The multiplication of independent sovereign political states is a doubtful good. In essential matters, in matters of the economy of life, they are neither independent nor sovereign. The unity of the Austrian Empire was on the whole a better thing for its constituent nationalities, from the point of view of the economic needs of each, than could be their present aggregate of separate sovereignties. Their gains in "national" freedom will be found not to offset their loss in economic unity. If they restore this, as they will be compelled to if they wish to prosper, it is pretty certain to turn out that they have undergone all the hardships of separation and war, in order to reach a point that they might have attained without war at all. For the Austrian Empire had been moving rapidly toward a type of polity like the Swiss Federation or the United Kingdom. This or ruin is their plain alternative today. That is why we find President Masaryk saying that the real problem of the Czecho-Slovaks is not nationalism, but internationalism. Indeed, the release of the repressed emotions of nationality has in many cases already put nationality in the background; the motive of association has shifted its base. Slovaks are exhibiting an appalling preference for Magyar Communists to Czech bourgeoisie; Rumanians of Bessarabia have the bad taste to prefer government by Russian Bolsheviki to government by Rumanian landlords. The nationalists are themselves compromising or ignoring the principle of nationality for the sake of the principle of political or economic democracy. And for the sake of domestic peace and work and food for their masses, they will be compelled to compromise it still more. Those essentials, if sufficient, will hold any group of nationalities within the same boundaries and loyal to the same government. We need go no farther than home for an example.

At home, however, we find evidence of another thing against which, for the sake of the Monroe Doctrine and the honor and good repute of our government, Article X

is security. This other thing is the aggression of our predatory "interests" among our sister republics south of the Rio Grande. The public prints are at present giving evidence of a conspiracy against Mexico. If the interested parties cannot have their will of that country in any other way—and the best legal opinion is that, lawfully, they can not—they mean to have it at the point of the American sword. They would undoubtedly prefer annexation, which the author of America after the War declares to be inevitable, as the consequence of a "punitive" expedition. But Article X prohibits annexation. Significantly, Mexico is not among those invited to join the League of Nations. Haiti and San Domingo, however, are. And Haiti and San Domingo are occupied and governed by American military force. Haiti and San Domingo are negro republics. Citizens, officials and all are negroes. They have been living on terms of equality with each other and such European whites as are settled among them or visit them. The American forces in occupation, officers and men, have, however, introduced in these negro republics the conventional attitude of their own free land toward its darker citizens. The people of Haiti and San Domingo are thoroughly aware of the degradation that would befall them with annexation to the United States. They have evinced the barbarous taste to prefer even a German or a Russian alliance. For them, Article X is an indispensable guarantee of self-respect and domestic freedom and national independence.

In point of fact, it is just such a guarantee for all peoples. The animus and substance of imperialism has always been the gratification of financial or commercial greeds or "necessities" by the division of territories and the destruction of governments. How else have Morocco and Egypt and South Africa and Algiers and India and Persia and China and Korea been torn and degraded by the powers that pillaged? If, however, states as they are now, the numerous small ones more particularly than the few large ones, have their territorial integrity and existing political independence guaranteed, the traditional methods of industrial imperialism are ruled out of court. Imperialism is then not destroyed, but it is limited in its power to harm. It is compelled to bargain and to compromise where it has been accustomed to grab. Harbors and trade rights and all the objects of international cupidity can then no longer be secured by the alienation of territory and subjection of peoples against their will. Not even peace following such punitive wars as the Covenant allows for can any longer secure such ends. Whatever the terms of the settlement, they cannot take away a people's land from it, or deprive it of self-government. And if this is the case, international disputes are forced to a change of venue. There can no longer be any quarrels over possession. Boundaries and sovereignties are no longer subject matter of international controversy. In view of the character of the international economy this must go a long way toward rendering them obsolete, toward converting the political "sovereign" state into the purely self-governing administrative area it by right should be.

H. M. KALLEN.

Roxbury, Massachusetts.

CORRESPONDENCE

Does the Military Caste System
Work in War?

SIR: My attention is arrested by the accurate conclusions and inaccurate data of an article by Mr. Fred B. Johnson, in the July 2nd issue of the New Republic. Writing on army discipline, Mr. Johnson raises the question of whether discipline need be based on the traditional army caste system. He points out that while the old time caste system of discipline still works in our own army, it has broken down in the British army since the armistice. He concludes that the caste system not only is not necessary, but is today impossible.

Perhaps Mr. Johnson chooses not to disillusion the American public all at once regarding the history in this war of the military caste system. Perhaps he has not had opportunity to follow this history in the war itself, since he was not given the chance of going to the front.

I raise the question whether the caste system does work in our army. I raise the question whether the Prussian idea of military caste, that of our own West Point tradition, has ever worked in war, save, perhaps, in the Prussian army itself. Even there it very obviously was breaking down towards the end of this war.

The West Point, or Prussian idea of army caste and discipline, is a peace time idea. An army is to be maintained, in comparative idleness, awaiting a war. To hold the men down while in idleness, repressive, harsh discipline and a caste system are employed. Officers for these men, in this country are recommended by politicians of the country. Their ability is tested by a gruelling physical training at West Point, and by as gruelling a training in the mental power to learn facts. There is no test, that I find, of their ability sympathetically to understand the psychology of the common soldier, nor of their power of winning the respect of their subordinates. If a boast recently made to me by a West Point cadet be well founded, apparently there is no test of the power of thinking. This boy boasted that at West Point they never question anything a superior says. "What a colonel tells us," he said, "we know must be true or he wouldn't say it." To maintain the authority of these men untested by war, a rigid caste system is installed.

This system cannot, on the face of it, work in war. I cannot remember in the war proper, either having heard or having heard of a request by a private for permission of his top sergeant to speak to his lieutenant or to his captain. Muddy and self-respecting, the private speaks direct to his muddy and self-respecting captain. Had the West Pointers gone to the front, they, too, would have lost, perforce, the caste feeling. I hardly remember, in the last four or five months at the front, saluting save as a spontaneous mark of respect. I do remember passing a major without saluting, and seeing others pass him, and then a dozen paces farther on saluting a second lieutenant or "shave tail." A soldier tells at a glance the man whom in war he respects. At the very front the salute is out of place. A soldier there cannot have his attention on the frills of peace time militarism. A private once told me of a reprimand a companion had received in the trenches from a newly arrived lieutenant from the States. "When I speak to you I want you to stand up and salute!" the officer snapped as he had been trained to snap, at home.

The private remained seated on a stone. "Stand up and salute!" "Say," drawled the private, "have you a dugout?" The officer, infuriated, reached for his gun, but quick as a cat the private had him covered. "Say," he drawled, "if you have a dugout, you'd better go to it;" and, as the lieutenant hesitated, the soldier dropped his drawl, jerked out a "Quick now!" and began to fire into the ground by the officer's heels.

Americans are great boasters and liars. But there was, I believe, a foundation of truth in this story. It would be hard to check up the thousands of such stories. Charges probably were not brought against this private. Under such conditions a man would, I daresay, be foolish to prefer charges.

I was sitting one afternoon on a bank conversing with a young United States major. I was a private, but I liked the looks of the stranger, and apparently, he liked mine. "Will you tell me something?" I asked after some talk. "Do you have to hound your subordinates to keep their respect?" He laughed. "Oh, I never worry about myself. And yet," whimsically, "somebody always looks me up a good dry place to sleep."

The transition in the A. E. F. from a caste basis to a democratic basis of discipline, begun at the front and slowly penetrating to the rear, had, I believe, gone much farther in certain of the other English-speaking armies. The Australian army, for instance, had the reputation through Europe, I think, of being the most democratic of the armies. Is it a coincidence explainable or unexplainable that this Australian army had at the same time the reputation of being the best fighting army in Europe? And the English army itself? Certainly my friends in the war used to tell me that after the armistice there would happen the very demonstrations in England that are today happening there, against the stupidity and arrogance of the war lords. In fact, they used to prophesy still more.

Mr. Johnson suggests that the French idea of military discipline be studied as better fitted for the "new spirit [which] is abroad." Mr. Johnson judges the theory to be good. I have found the practice good. It is a Napoleonic tradition, the French explain to me, that the sous-lieutenants, who come into contact with the soldiers, must be of the finest men in the army. Not only must their physical and mental ability be tested, but their sympathetic understanding of the common soldier. And so, when the mother of a young French aspirant, a prince of a fellow, told me that Pierre's period of probation as an officer in the army was finished, and that he had received his appointment one month sooner than is usual, she added with pride: "That means that he is not only a good soldier, but a good man. Comme son oncle." In the French army a young officer is appointed on probation, till he can demonstrate a capacity for democratic leadership.

And the French officer is more a democrat than the West Pointer. Has a West Point colonel ever been seen to cross the street in New York to show a courtesy to a private in another army? Yet a French colonel crossed the street to ask, in English, of a friend of mine who was hesitating which street to take, if he could help him. Once, when some twenty miles from camp, I stopped a French staff car and asked the captain if he would let me ride. He asked me some questions to test my knowledge of the country, and then concluding, apparently, that I knew my business, he took me in. Nor does this destroy discipline.

That type of Frenchman I respected always, a sort of elder brother to his men. I meet on the streets of New York French officers whom I recognize as embusqués or "dog robbers." But when I meet one of the real kind, as I do occasionally, I always, though now a civilian, feel the tendency to salute, and to pronounce the term "camarade." Not so when I meet a West Pointer.

New York City.

T. M. PEASE.

It Does Not Work

SIR: May I add a foot-note to your article on Discipline? I am a lawyer. During the war I was an enlisted man, a sergeant, and my Honorable Discharge recites that I was among those present at St. Mihiel, in the Argonne and on the Meuse. My character is vouched for as excellent. I know discipline from the under-side.

We of the A. E. F. were of two-classes. One class ate excellent food or as good as could be procured with trouble, lived in the fine houses of the several localities, and received handsome salaries which were expended ordinarily for Wine, Women and Song. The other class ate what was given them and were told they were lucky, lived in stables and were paid \$33 per month gross. After deducting insurance and my wife's allowance I got \$22 per month, which I did not spend for Wine, Women and Song. As a private I would have received \$11 per month. We of the A. E. F. were divided into officers and men.

When an officer encountered a man the man made obeisance. He saluted. If the officer did not return the salute the man could complain to other officers of the discourtesy. He could also complain if the officer called him a vile name. He had a large privilege of complaining. He could finally complain himself into a whole roomful of officers and if he didn't like the upshot he could grouch and complain for the rest of his unnatural life. Did you ever hear that old soldiers are chronic complainers? No precise limits were set to an officer's power to bedevil a man. He could be held to account only by officers. A man could not be represented by counsel of his own class. Intelligent men kowtowed and said nothing.

We sergeants were slave-drivers. We were ordinarily the biggest and strongest men in the class, the loudest and most ruthless. We didn't like our jobs. We took them for the reason that the officers took theirs—to keep out of the war. We were the officers' alter egos minus the salaries and perquisites. The officers owned the army and we were employees. Each lieutenant had a sergeant and the captain had the top. Our work was precisely the same as theirs, only we did it.

We did all the work. Four companies of infantry were stationed in a certain French town and I saw the four captains engage in a drunken brawl in the main square which lasted from Taps to midnight. All four, yes. I was sergeant of the guard that night, and I could have arrested the four captains. That would have been magnificent, but not—necessary to my self-respect. You see, I didn't have any self-respect, I'd swallowed it long since. I had to swallow something.

Letter-writing was not forbidden to men but it was discouraged. We were told to make our letters short and far between. This was to save the officers the bother of reading. Here is how one officer put it: "Don't write 'your loving son, John.' Your mother knows you love her. So just write 'Your son, John.'"

The root of the unpopularity of the Y. M. C. A. was its

discrimination in favor of officers. It was an officers' club, where the men frequented the servants' hall. You can find this point emphasized in the official report of the 53rd Pioneer Infantry on Welfare Organizations in the A. E. F. to which my name is signed. I understood that report was made under a General Army Order. I presume other units reported also. If a general report from the A. E. F. was made,—and that was the consummation seemingly planned,—why is it not before the public?

To sum up. Officers did not have to face the rigors of this war. That was the result of caste, and I think it was the result intended. They came from the class which does not face the hardships of peace, and they insisted on a soft berth wherever they went. They got it. I'd engage to hire in the open market capable soldiers who'll go to war for life if they go as our officers went. I think I could re-engage the bulk of the officers—they have no such snaps here.

The caste privileges accorded them were not an aid to discipline, but were a drag on the efficiency of the army. We might as well have been cluttered with so many women,—it is true that the officers were also very pretty. Our army system was taken over body and bones from countries organized aristocratically, countries where gentlemen go to war as gentlemen and only the poor and friendless go on their own feet as men. The army was quite efficient, yes. So were the other armies, German and Ally. A soldier doesn't need self-respect, training is enough, a trained soldier is always efficient, though apparently he fails against a Soviet army as he failed against the men of the first French Republic.

Caste should be abolished. Wipe out the un-American line between officer and man, and give the honors and perquisites to the bearers of the heat and burden. Why give the lion's share to camp-followers? Officers below rank of major are just that. The first sergeant runs the company now,—why not acknowledge it? The sergeants command the platoons. Upon them are directly imposed four useless personages, four holders of sinecures. The officers command obedience because of their power to punish, not because of their fine food, their fine quarters or their fine salaries. A bas le camp-follower!

Make the salute universal man to man, or abolish it. It is not an honorable greeting between soldiers. That's poppycock. It is a servile obeisance, having its counterpart in other days in the pulling of the forelock, the greeting of serf to lord. Put it out of an officer's power to lean back, cigar in mouth, and rag a man standing at attention. Make officers walk and carry their duds on their backs and not in trunks,—aren't they physically fit? Abolish their frippery and paraphernalia,—more room for the shells and the beef. Let them eat army chow, and sleep in army blankets. Bridge that gap between the sergeant's forty-four dollars (overseas) and the second lieutenant's hundred and sixty. Go right down the line like that.

Mr. Johnson mentioned the better spirit in the French army. Take this from a poilu: "The Cross of War for the officer—the cross of wood for the man!"—This is British,—cut it out if you must,—"They can do anything to you in the army but make you pregnant,—and if they can do that, by God, they can't make you love the child!"

I am of the leisured class myself. And if I go to war again it will be again as a man. Note that I bear an Honorable Discharge from the United States Army, rank of sergeant, character excellent, no demerits, no A. W. O. L.'s, service in the battles of the St. Mihiel, the Argonne, and the offensive on the Meuse.

New York City.

THOMAS MCMORROW.

Beneficial Reciprocity

Industrial Goodwill, by John R. Commons. New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Co.

PROFESSOR COMMONS has written a book to reassure employers. He wants them to realize that the collective bargain is not as bad as they think. Indeed he wants them to believe that it is not a bad thing at all, but of positive benefit to them. His contention is that for the employer to have successful and amicable relations with his workers he must create "industrial goodwill." And this goodwill is the inclination on both sides to continue and renew the bargaining transaction because of positive values to both in such continuance. "For goodwill is competitive persuasion." "The labor problem is a daily trial of strength. . . . It is a continuous bargain every day and hour, renewed either in the prices that are to be paid or the amount of the product that the worker turns out. And it is the renewal of bargains that constitutes goodwill."

But, the employers may say, this bargaining can be more safely carried on with individual workers. To which Professor Commons replies: "The goodwill of labor is a collective goodwill that does not play one laborer against another, or the unemployed against the employed, or take advantage of the needs of a class, but acknowledges labor's solidarity of interest as well as the individual laborer's self-interest." He points to the necessity of equality—equal bargaining power—as a condition of both justice and goodwill. "The employer always speaks as a representative of associated capital. Unless the laborer can speak as a representative of associated laborers, he cannot speak with equal power." And the equal power, he insists, is not demanded for its own sake or for its arbitrary or selfish exercise; but because it means equal consideration, the recognition of human values, decisions in which personal rights are as determining as property rights. In short, only among equals are there the prerequisite conditions for democracy, for amity, for workmanship, and—of most direct interest to the employer—for productivity.

Pursuant to this point of view, Professor Commons gives two excellent definitions, the implications of which can be profitably pondered—especially by the employer who is always complaining of his men's lack of gratitude and loyalty. He says of goodwill that it "is not necessarily a virtuous will or a loving will, it is a beneficial reciprocity of wills." And loyalty he characterizes as not "gratitude for past favors nor a sense of obligation but an expectation of reciprocity."

The author does well to believe that with these two complementary ideas in view, the employer's practical policies can be helpfully weighed and chosen. He finds it to be distinctly the duty of management, as well as being to its best interest to foster and preserve a condition of reciprocal, collective goodwill through the agency of a liberal collective bargain. It is definitely to the employer's advantage to have all differences freely aired and settled by an accommodation which reconciles the claims of managers and workers in the public interest. A condition of equality pays—at least it pays temporarily—as long as this equality creates a situation of competitive advantage in the labor market.

But the candor of Professor Commons's analysis does not allow him to stop here. He adds that "the struggle is permanent and irreconcilable but may be, and is, reconciled more or less as we go along." This is a crucial

admission; it leaves the employer and the worker fundamentally at a stand-off which would appear to require drastic readjustments to modify. Professor Commons leaves this predicament undiscussed. Engaged as he consciously is upon an educational project for employers, he is confining himself to less controversial topics. He engages their attention in successive chapters upon the ways of reconciling "more or less as they go along," the interests of managers and workers. What are those ways?

There must first, he says, be a sound theory as to what labor is; one which realizes that the worker is not a commodity whose purchase value rises and falls as the supply decreases or increases; nor yet a machine, a "hand" or cog in a great mechanism; nor even simply a member of a great state to whose ends he is subject. The sound theory will be personal, human, social—conceiving of labor as a group of individuals for each of whom a progressively enhanced personality is desired. With this basic outlook established, it will be easy to discover a common interest in the development of an effective safety programme in the plant. It will be easy to realize the value of preventive and corrective industrial health work, to be developed in close conjunction with compulsory health insurance, which he heartily endorses. A well-organized public employment service is necessary to facilitate the interchange of those workers who become unemployed. Extensive shop organizations with local committees and union affiliations are urged. More elaborate industrial training both by community and employers is endorsed. The kind of loyalty and esprit de corps is advocated which is reciprocal, mutual and discriminating throughout. And, finally, as the administrative agency for carrying out these activities in the field of personnel, a staff "department of personality" is recommended.

The discussion of these ways and means aims to be suggestive rather than exhaustive or practical. The way is well paved by this book for another, still unwritten, which will tell the employer in detail of methods and technique in this field. The point of view throughout these chapters is excellent; it is modern in spirit, constructive and sufficiently "pro labor" to be in harmony with the obvious Zeitgeist."

Yet the things which Professor Commons leaves unsaid raise a question as to tactics in a book of this sort, which deserves consideration. How much shall the economist who is critical of the ultimate basis of privately owned industry tell the employer? If told too much, if told that his function as private-investor-plus-manager is being criticized as socially inexpedient, and that workers may come through knowledge and training in responsibility to demand a radical shift in the basis of the control in industry, he may never put his hand to the plow. Yet if told too little, he may start blandly ahead on a programme which leads ultimately to an end he is reluctant to accept.

The industrial adviser may, as the present author does, counsel a partnership of joint control with the workers in each plant or locality. He may advocate establishing a goodwill assured by superior terms and conditions of employment. This is admirable from the employers' and investors' immediate point of view. The workers are amenable because prosperous in that station in life whereunto it has pleased God to call them. The investor is secure in a permanent return upon his investment. Just so long as labor accepts the present basis of industrial organization with its subordinate status for the wage earner and its security of income for the capital holder, all is well with this advice. Let the employer embrace it, and if he is

tactful and able, he will make more money than ever.

But what if labor becomes critical of its wage status and finds that whoever owns the sources of raw materials and the instruments of production really wields a sovereign power over the lives of the rest of the community? What if the workers discover the existence of a credit system which puts the credit lenders in a position not unlike that of the barons, who from their castles on the Rhine, could determine the terms on which sojourners used the river? In this latter case, labor is going to cooperate with the private employer only up to a certain point. The employer can manifest as much goodwill as he can afford, but the workers will feel that what is needed is not good intention and benevolence so much as honest understanding of relationships and efforts to create a more rational organization of the industry. We are not without evidence that many workers in England take exactly this attitude.

In America, however, the employer is clearly not confronting any wide-spread working-class objection to the system itself. Equally clearly, more and more workers are bound to be brought in the next quarter century to a more profound criticism of the industrial structure. Professor Commons meets this difficulty of an era of transition in what is probably from a pedagogical point of view the most effective manner possible. He indicates that we must separate in our thinking the management function from the investment or production-initiating function, and understand that the management function is a permanent one which has problems of its own that can be independently considered with advantage to all. He does not say this specifically, but that is the reasonable deduction; and it is unfortunate that he leaves it unsaid, since such a statement would clarify the message of the book to a considerable degree. For the employer, no more than the worker, could project himself instantaneously, even if he wanted to, into a thoroughly beneficent industrial order. But in his capacity as manager and under the admitted limitations of the credit system, he can usefully proceed upon a process of self-education in better management and of education for his workers in the whole range of industrial subject matter. And this Professor Commons advises him to do.

The only trouble is that he leans over backwards in his efforts to assure employers that he who addresses them is "sound" and "safe and sane." There are sentences like the following which mar the book, are unnecessary to substantiate its main points and leave one wondering about the author's philosophical grasp: "... when the new tariff law came in, the purpose was no longer protection of capital but protection of labor." "To the socialist and syndicalist both the individual and the nation are illusions. There is simply one class struggling against another class, uncontrolled by any genuine idea of patriotism, general welfare or public utility." "The Russian Revolution culminated in the socialistic idea of democracy." "Trade unionism is based upon that principle of partnership which we see in a different way in the home. Consequently, here we have a spiritual movement which has not attacked family, religion and property, as Karl Marx has done. . . ." The trade unions during the war "knew that they had an equal voice and equal power with capitalism."

It is hard to account for utterances like these from a competent economist like John R. Commons. Sidney Webb has conspicuously won the world's respect if not always its complete agreement because in his *Works Manager Today*, which also is addressed to the employer audience, he lets it always be known where he stands and

whither he is looking. We know in some detail where Professor Commons stands but it occasionally seems as if he was either afraid to reveal the direction of his gaze, or did not know its direction himself. It is true that discretion dictated some restraints in a book which aims to be persuasive. But persuasion to be of permanent effect should be based on sound analysis.

One of the very considerable forces which plays upon the minds of the workers and to which the employer has therefore to adjust himself, is the educational work of those who believe that the capitalist system is ethically and scientifically unsound, and should be displaced as fast as possible by political or economic action, or both. Because the employer has to reckon with this point of view and is probably destined to see its increase among his own employees, he should be told accurately about the present situation in the radical movements. Radical activities are, or should be, an element in his calculations exactly as are the price of materials or shipping rates. And it is from this point of view that they should be laid before him.

The only seriously regrettable feature of this forceful and candid educational volume is that the discussion of the "isms" is neither sufficiently informative nor sufficiently dispassionate.

ORDWAY TEAD.

The Voice of the West in Philosophy

A Realistic Universe. An Introduction to Metaphysics, by John Eloy Boodin. New York: The Macmillan Co.

FOR a man teaching in one of our smaller colleges, single-handedly carrying many different courses, handicapped by infrequent opportunities for personal contact with fellow-workers in the same field, to keep his freshness of vision, his zest of speculation, as Professor Boodin has kept them, is no mean achievement. His *Realistic Universe* was published in the midst of the Great War, and on the eve of our entrance into the struggle, at a time when few even among professional philosophers had leisure or inclination for reading a new volume as substantial as this one. But now that the preoccupation with the war is lifted from our minds, it is very much to be hoped that Professor Boodin's book will meet, both from his fellow-scholars and from the general public, with the attention and appreciation which it richly merits. For it is a remarkable book, with an originality of vision all its own, written in a style alive, human, and flexible enough to range from the glowing eloquence of the imaginative to the precise lucidity of the argumentative passages. Above all, the reader feels throughout that he is in contact with a mind well-rounded and well-balanced, no less rich in knowledge of the great tradition of philosophy, than keenly responsive to all the problems of the present world. A thinker who, in the same breath, can confess that "in all things speculative, we must still sit at the feet of the Greek masters"; acknowledge his debt to Kant, Fichte, and Hegel; learn from Poincaré and other writers on the fundamental concepts of science; respond to the teaching of Josiah Royce, William James, John Dewey—enters upon his task with an equipment which few can rival and none accuse of one-sidedness. There is no important movement in present-day philosophy—naturalism, pragmatism, realism, idealism—which Professor Boodin has not weighed and from which he has not sought to extract what truth it seems to him to

contain. But he carries his learning lightly, and he has woven it into a tissue of thought which is original, not only in the cheap sense of being novel, but in the deeper sense of being all his own. The reason for this is not only that he practices his own prescription: "philosophers are men who can think in terms of the whole"; but that he is a poet as well as a thinker. He does not lack, in due place, the "dry light of the intellect," but he knows that thought without imagination or intuition is barren: "Philosophics must do justice to our whole human nature. They must satisfy our emotional and volitional nature, as well as our intellect." "We can hold only part of reality in the net of our concepts, the rest trickles through." Such utterances show his dominant temper and attitude. At the same time he knows well enough that in "seeking for unity and wholeness in our seemingly chaotic world," it will not do to abandon thought, and substitute vague emotions or mystical insight for close, clear reasoning. Only by sound thinking can we elicit the truth, but in this eliciting of the truth, philosophy, like poetry, transmutes first impressions, reveals order where at first there seemed only disorder, reveals meaning and value where at first there seemed nothing but chance and chaos. "The function of both art and metaphysics is to idealize life, to grasp its deeper meaning." Is this idealizing an illusion, a protective make-believe, a sweet dream helping us to forget, for a moment, the intolerable harshness of actual life? Or is it "the small voice of the universe," the deeper truth which, by taking thought, we can make our own? It is this second alternative which Professor Boodin adopts: "The effective systems of philosophy are tremendous affirmations of faith—faith in human society and its underlying ideals," faith, too, we may add in his spirit, in the constitution of the universe of which we human beings are a part, and which reveals itself to our consciousness. Thus Professor Boodin's mind is of the synoptic sort, bent upon achieving a synthesis of all sides of experience, convinced that the poet's passion for beauty and the thinker's love of truth coincide in revealing the very nature of the world we live in. Is he wrong in claiming that, in thinking thus, he reflects "the homely sanity of the great west"?

The speculative edifice, which Professor Boodin has reared for us, rests on five pillars: energy, consciousness, space, time, and form. These are the five ultimate concepts in terms of which he claims he can construe the universe. Energy takes in his system the place of "being" or "substance." "The simplest unit of reality is an energy-system." The universe is a structure of super-imposed energy-systems. "Reality reveals itself in many systems. It is matter, it is light, it is electricity, it is mind, it is truth, right and beauty. It is all of these and many others." This is Professor Boodin's way of "saving the appearances" (as Plato has it) of recognizing, in the multi-colored tissue of the world such continuities and discontinuities, such uniqueness and interdependencies as we find. Among these many kinds of systems some are higher than others in that they reveal more fully the potencies and hidden properties of the whole. In this sense, the mental systems are peculiarly important, not because all other systems exist only as objects for some mind, but because through consciousness, which is likened to a "neutral light," the meaning and direction of the whole system of systems is revealed, so far as we can apprehend it at all. This is the reason why not only the mechanical and biological sciences, but social relationships, art, religion, philosophy must be allowed their value as evidence for the nature and significance of the universe. "Those higher continuities which we call communion with God . . . must be taken to reveal the nature of reality,

quite as truly as the simpler contexts which we deal with in mechanics." But whilst consciousness thus provides for awareness of the character of reality and for appreciation of its meaning, what of the other fundamental concepts? Energy implies change, process, a ceaseless activity, an unending becoming. As such it needs time, as the medium, so to speak, for its transformations, and space as the medium for translations or free mobility. Without time, we should have a static, petrified universe; without space, no mutual externality of energetic centres. Lastly, without "form," process would have neither the stability of character, the self-identity, necessary for becoming an object of knowledge, nor that direction towards an ideal or goal, which turns mere change into an evolution. It is, too, the form in things to which, in morality, we respond as an ideal demand, an Ought to be obeyed and realized.

And thus Professor Boodin's cosmic vision culminates in a conception of human life as creative activity in tune with the onward sweep of the universe. "We are here to think and to create. Whether we are awake or asleep, whether we think or dream away life, we are subject to the law of change and the law of direction. But if we think, we may enter into the eternal in some degree by striving to understand the direction of things, and by guiding our lives accordingly; we may become creators instead of mere bubbles on the stream. By acting out my best purposes, by living my highest insight, there shall come, perhaps through failure, perhaps through partial success, how I do not know, new insight, new capacity for work, love, and appreciation. The guiding power of the universe will see to it, if we are sincere, that we do not permanently miss the course in the foggy unknown. But our illumination must be the Ought as now incarnated in human history. The next incarnation will come in the fullness of time. The voice out of the dark is enough for the next step."

Do we not here catch the accents of that sturdy faith in ideals, that unquenchable and courageous hopefulness which promise to be America's best contribution to the building of a better world?

R. F. A. H.

A Pedigree

A History of British Socialism. Vol I., by M. Beer. New York: The Macmillan Co.

MR. BEER'S book is indispensable to every student who desires to understand the forces of the modern world. He has given to socialism in England the pedigree of which it stood in need; and he has done it with an ample scholarship to which perhaps four living Englishmen can make pretensions. His book, indeed, is somewhat uneven in value. The discussion of medieval theory suffers by comparison with the treatment of the modern period. Mr. Beer has not wholly escaped the temptation to confuse protest against contemporary misfortune with a definite programme of social reconstruction. But he might with justification retort that the historians are of little assistance to him until the Reformation period. We know, through labors like those of Tawney and Wallas and the Hammonds, what lies at the back of theories such as those of More and Hodgskin, as we have yet no knowledge of the feeling for equality which the careful observer can find in Hales and Duns Scotus. The attempt to recreate the history of England in terms of the aspiration of the common people has so far, with the single exception of the Peasants' Revolt of 1381,

stopped short at the Reformation. The harvest Mr. Beer has gleaned suggests the value of the medieval period. A book relating the history of resistance to oppression in England and the consistent yearning for equality would be an invaluable illumination of the history of opinion.

Even with such limitations it is a fascinating story Mr. Beer has to unfold. The history of socialism, as Pohlmann's two stout volumes bear witness, is as old as Plato; and there is no truth more significant than the fact of the continuous dissatisfaction of men with their environment. Socialism, at every period, is no more than a special attempt at the sublimation of this protest. What most strikingly emerges in Mr. Beer's survey is the contiguity of its history. In its modern form, it is doubtless the offspring of that specialized capitalistic organization which, after the use of Protestant individualism, separated ethical from economic enquiry. It is in part a protest in the name of freedom, in part, also, a search for the principle of that distributive justice which ancient thought so consistently emphasized. The socialist movement, as Mr. Beer points out, is not merely political and economic. Its sources are drawn from every means of discontent against a system which unduly differentiated between man and man. Stoicism, Christianity, Plato, have all contributed their quota to the stream. But the Reformation, here, as elsewhere, marks a turning-point. The differentiation between society and individual which it introduced synchronized with a change in economic structure. Men henceforward could pursue economic gain under the cloak of heavenly blessing; and, indeed, Professor Levy has shown in an admirable essay, how English nonconformity is, not least on religious grounds, the parent of *laissez-faire*.

What Mr. Beer reminds us of is the fact that the political philosophy we mainly study is the philosophy which nourished the successful men. Fifty have heard of Petty or Mun, in one age, of Ricardo and McCulloch in another, to whom the books of John Bellers and Samuel Hartlib, of Bray and Hodgskin, remain unknown. Yet the disinherited have also their literature of which no small part is essential to the full reconstruction of the time. No news is better than Mr. Beer's announcement that he proposes to reprint some of the texts of early English socialism. It is a notable enterprise. We shall thereby recover a stream of English thought which it is too easy to suggest spent itself in the sands. We shall find how despite Hume in one age, and Bentham in the next, the theory of natural rights and a social contract are of the continuous essence of English political philosophy. We shall find that the anti-socialism of the eighteenth century is only the prelude to a revival the more radical because of the complacent optimism of the preceding time. This later part of Mr. Beer's volume is, of course, far better known than the earlier. The incomparable volume of Menger, on the right to the whole produce of labor, had already been devoted to its elucidation. Mr. Whitaker's *Labor Theory of Value* and Miss Lowenthal's *Ricardian Socialists*, were among the very best of the Columbia monographs. Mr. Wallas, in his *Life of Francis Place*, had given us some admirable glimpses of early Chartism. Yet even here, where there seemed so little to glean, Mr. Beer has much that is original and suggestive to offer. His analysis of the separation between the middle and working classes after the disillusionment of 1832 is quite the best we have. It is interesting to compare that movement with the situation in England after 1906. In both cases, it was the alliance of liberalism and labor which defeated the forces of reaction. In both cases, also, there was immense optimism, and a conviction that a new and generous

epoch had arrived. But just as by 1834 the working-class had become convinced that it must rely on its own resources, so by 1910 the rank and file of British labor had become convinced that the road to salvation lay through economic action. In 1832 liberalism used labor to secure parliamentary reform; in 1906 the alliance was effected to throw back the advancing wave of Protection. In neither period was there any perception of the real purposes by which labor was moved.

Few things are more interesting in Mr. Beer's book than the conclusion to which his researches have led him. "The period," he says, "which now discloses itself to the eyes of the social enquirer exhibits some striking parallels to that of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. A new Chartist movement has arisen, and is daily growing." Written four years ago, that prophecy is being fulfilled even more rapidly than Mr. Beer could then have imagined. What must strike the observer is the close parallel between the ideals and methods of 1825-1850 and those of our own time. Robert Owen is the prophet of those days, and it is to his ideals, in the background of William Thompson's economic theories, that the British Labor movement seems to be returning. The Trade Union Congress is the source of labor hopes in much the same way that the great Chartist Convention seemed eighty years ago the necessary supplement to Parliamentary activities. In each case the same protest came from moderate and reactionary opinion of an usurpation by labor of powers not legally its own. In each case there was the same easy talk of a revolutionary ferment, and the same uncritical opposition from the daily press. But the Chartism of today is wiser than its prototype. Despite the urgency of Robert Owen, the earlier movement was led to concentrate upon mechanisms as the secret of progress. It was assumed, almost without argument, that universal suffrage and annual parliaments were the panacea for all ills. The movement of today is wiser. It does not believe that political progress is secreted in the interstices of parliamentary method. It sees how completely the modern state has become an economic organization, and it is upon a different lever that it relies. And while no one can read the record of early Chartism without being distressed at the incompetence and shiftlessness of its leaders, no such charge can be brought against men like Robert Smillie and J. H. Thomas and Philip Snowden. And the appeal of the present generation is to masses far better informed and organized than in the past. It will need more than an assistant commissioner of police and a four-wheeler to divert Mr. Robert Smillie from his purpose.

In the next edition of Mr. Beer's work there are one or two changes for which it is permissible to hope. It needs, above all, to be less a summary of books, and more an explanation of their perspective. A fuller account of the relation of More to Plato would be invaluable, some such antithesis, for instance, as is traced by Michels and Ziegler, in their excellent edition of the *Utopia*. One would like, too, a somewhat fuller account of labor periodicals in the first part of the nineteenth century. What were the doctrines of the *Gorgon* and the *Poor Man's Guardian*? What is the significance of the *Cooperative Magazine*? It is, perhaps, churlish where Mr. Beer has given so much, to ask for more. But now that Mark Hovell and Philip Brown are dead, there is no one else to whom we can turn. And let it be added that Mr. Beer is an Austrian scholar who, until 1914, worked in London as a correspondent for *Vorwärts*. The revival of such international cooperation will be not the smallest of the blessings brought by peace.

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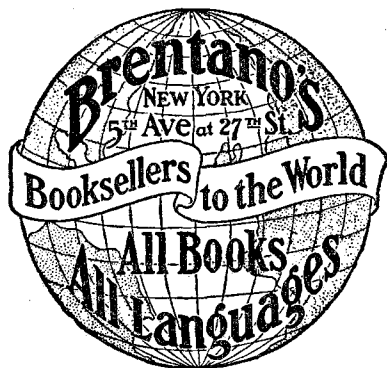
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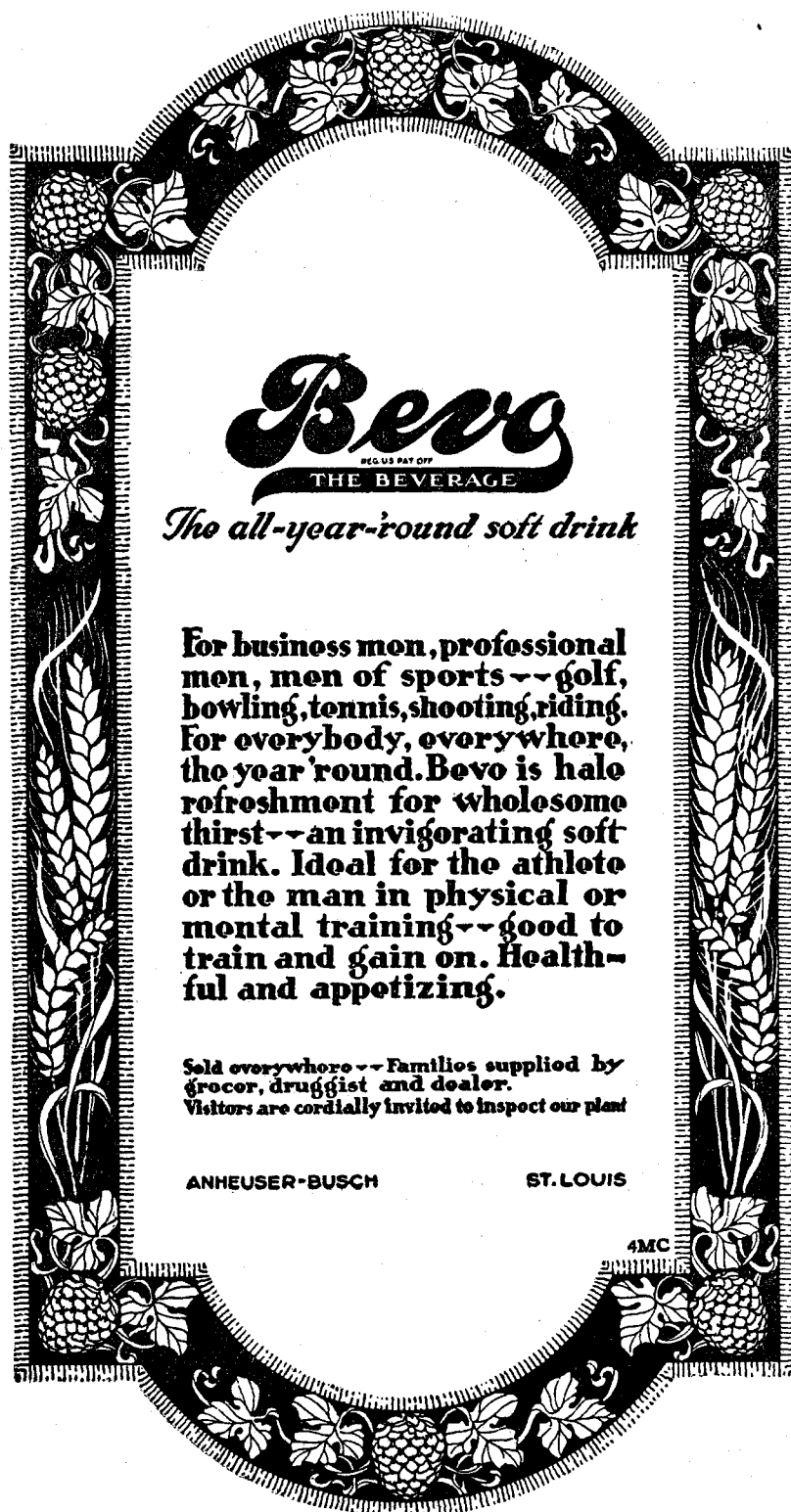
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In the Barnyard

The Rainbow, by D. J. Lawrence. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

LAWRENCE is an exponent of the fleshy school of realism. There are two ways of being elemental and getting back to the heart of existence. One is the way of true art and simplicity; the other, the way of labored luridness. Once in a while a writer sees life so barely and nakedly that he writes about human beings and human relationships as if everything were simple and natural. Take for instance the story in *Genesis* of Adam and Eve, or Turgenev in *Virgin Soil* or in *Fathers and Sons*, or that wonderful Norwegian, Nexø, in *Pelle*. In these books, the bare essentials of life are exposed with such simplicity that you feel at the very foundation of things. But when a man like Lawrence wants to be elemental he clumsily tries to do it by describing certain acts and using many words to get the effect, which thus becomes not simple but clinical.

When you finish *The Rainbow*, which takes you into the beds and arms of three generations of lovers, you feel as if there were nothing in the world but physical contact and subsequent obstetrics. People aren't people with souls and spirits, but they are breasts and bellies and waving arms and legs. A good deal of it is so objective that he might as well be giving us a barnyard series of matings. The cow and her bull, the rooster and his amours, even the vulgar and unsecretive dogs have probably the same experiences that Lawrence finds so very thrilling.

I wish someone would write a satire on the whole cohabitating, kissing, passionately obstetrical school of realists. And yet, in *Sons and Lovers*, Lawrence had a big idea, and in *The Rainbow* too he has something in mind, which after 467 pages of matings, in woods, haystacks, barns, hotels, beds and private houses, is finally revealed on page 466. It is the fact that while man is a necessary part in the creative process, his functioning may stop there; and the woman, tired of his kisses and anatomy may have the child all to herself—a real super-woman effect.

But, with all the modern inventions, it may in the future be possible for her to be artificially impregnated, and then she won't have to bother even to look at mere useless man. She can go to some laboratory of eugenics and pick out from the various labels just what kind of a child she wants, blond or brunette, nervous or bovine in temperament. I wonder if that is the spiritual significance of *The Rainbow*? When this happens, people like Lawrence will be saved a whole lot of work. W.

The Index for Volume XIX, which was completed with the last number, has been printed separately. It will be mailed on request, post free, to any subscriber who will send his name and address on a post card directed to the New Republic, 421 West 21st street, New York City.

Contributors

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H. N. BRAILSFORD, an English publicist. The author of *Steel and Gold*, and a *League of Nations*. He has done much work as a newspaper correspondent in Turkey and the Balkans, usually for the *Manchester Guardian*.
LYTTON STRACHEY, author of *Eminent Victorians* and cousin of the editor of the *London Spectator*.
JOHN DEWEY, a professor of philosophy at Columbia University. The author of *Democracy and Education*, and other books on education and metaphysics.

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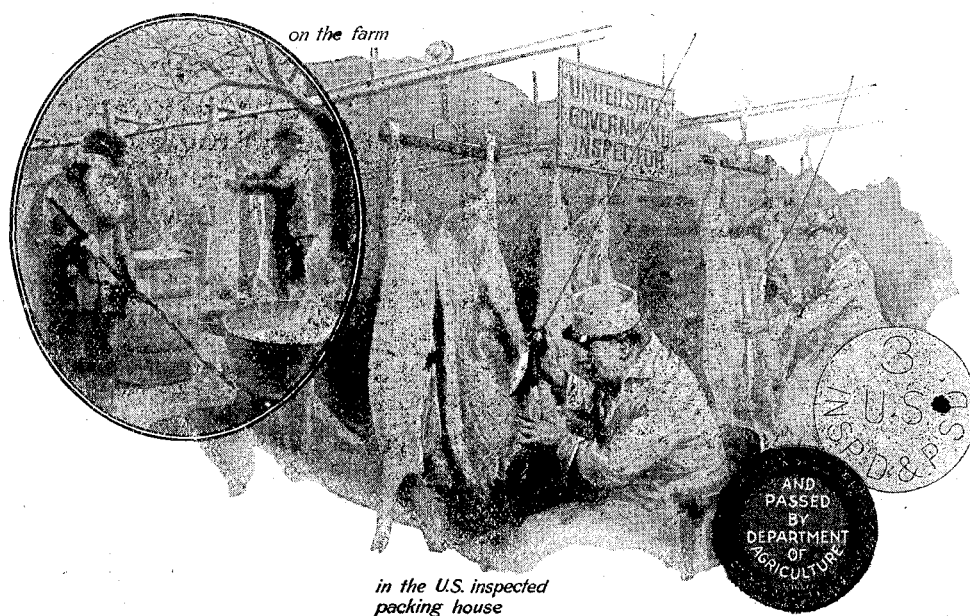
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